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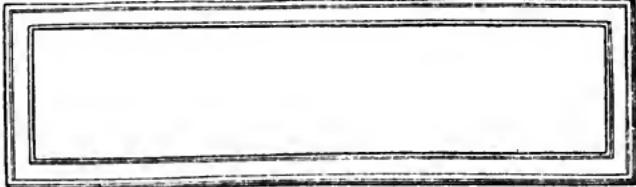


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GIFT

GIFT OF

Miss Mary Floyd Williams



With my
best regards

Sincerely
J. H. D.

AMERICAN IMPRESSIONS

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BY

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the United States of America*

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INTRODUCTION

MR. BRADDON has honoured me with an invitation to write a foreword to his "American Impressions." So far as I am aware, I have two qualifications, and two only, for the slight task imposed upon me. One is that I have visited the United States several times. The other is that I am imbued with the earnest hope that, with the lapse of time, relations between the two great English-speaking nationalities will become more and more friendly, and that their interests will come to be regarded as more and more common interests.

Before visiting the United States the first time I was in the habit of saying that I had no desire to visit America. When leaving it the first time my feeling was that I would rather go there a second time than anywhere else a first time. Chiefly responsible for that feeling was the view that from many, and especially the utilitarian, standpoints, America was, to an Australian, the most interesting country in the world. In many respects the United States presented themselves to me as an Australia many time multiplied, abounding with

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valuable lessons to every Australian interested in the development of his own country. Like Australia, it is a country of magnificent distances, and, despite its amazing industrial achievements, it may be regarded, in comparison with the great countries of Europe, as still only on the threshold of its development.

As Mr. Braddon makes sufficiently evident in his "Impressions," America has her share of troubles to face. The greatest and most interesting of these undoubtedly arises from the gathering together in such large numbers, and under one flag, of so many nationalities. It was this characteristic, in the possession of which the United States is, of course, *sui generis*, that led one of her own great men to describe her as "an international boarding house." More than upon anything else, perhaps, America's future depends upon the results that will flow from the melting down of all her white nationalities into a common stock. At the present they are far from that. In probably every important department of American life and work, people of British stock are the dominating force; but to get America into true perspective, especially in her relations to foreign affairs, one must never overlook the fact that she lacks in an essential degree the homogeneity of

such countries as Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and Germany, and that foreign affairs in the United States must be continually discussed by large sections of her population, not from an exclusively American standpoint, but from the standpoint of racial origin.

In criticising America's attitude at different times towards the great war many people entirely overlooked this point—entirely failed to make allowance for the fact that it was practically impossible to find a point of view common to all the numerically important sections of the community. We in Australia experienced difficulties serious enough. But what would our difficulties have been had Australia been an independent power, comprising in the same ratios nationalities as diverse in interest and sympathy as those of the United States? America's interest in the issue of the war was, no doubt, very great. But at no stage, in my judgment, was it so vital and direct as that of Great Britain and her dependencies. The British communities are, in the main, racially homogeneous. The population of America is, of all the great powers, the most heterogeneous. And yet, with almost complete unanimity, both houses of the United States Congress voted in favour of conscription. That fact presents itself to my

mind as one of the most remarkable happenings in history, and in my judgment argues the operation of a remarkably powerful moral influence throughout the American nation. Bearing in mind that amongst the people of no other great Power did there exist the same sectional differences and conflict of racial interest, I feel that we must concede that the statesmen who were responsible for America's casting her weight into the scale in favour of the Allies accomplished a task of peculiar difficulty and magnitude, the successful performance of which has placed the people of the countries with which she allied herself under a debt of gratitude which they may never be able to discharge.

I have read with the greatest pleasure and interest Mr. Braddon's impressions of America, her institutions, and her people. They furnish a picture both accurate and interesting, and must contribute to a much better understanding amongst Australians of many phases of life and thought in the United States. Reading between the lines one is irresistibly led to the conclusion that, just as in this booklet Mr. Braddon is helping his fellow Australians to understand America, so, during his all too short sojourn in the United States, Mr. Braddon must have done an immense deal to assist

Americans to understand Australia. Throughout his long and valuable record of public service, it is probable that Mr. Braddon has done nothing more valuable than the work he did as Australian Commissioner in the United States. Certain it is that his booklet leaves the very distinct impression that no work he has done has yielded him more personal interest and enjoyment.

JAMES ASHTON.

SYDNEY,

2nd December, 1919.

SECTION I

CHARACTERISTICS AND RESOURCES

IN days now regrettably distant we occasionally played a certain parlour game. The guests were taken one by one into a small room, where they found a covered tray. The cover was whisked away; the victim was given exactly sixty seconds to study a multitude of trifles collected haphazard on the tray. Then he or she wrote out a list, as far as recollection would serve, and the longest list of correctly named articles won the prize. Writing one's impressions of a great country, after so short a stay as nine months, rather resembles that game. The recorder realizes how limited were his opportunities for acquiring really sound knowledge, and is painfully aware that in the final enumeration he possibly overlooked more than he set down. At the same time he has seen a few things very clearly, and about these he writes with the courage that often accompanies comparative ignorance. As Winwood Reade has it: "Doubt is the offspring of knowledge; the

savage never doubts at all." The transient visitor to the States is not hampered by a knowledge of minute conflicting details, such as might puzzle his pen if he had stayed nine years instead of only nine months.

The following jottings do not pretend to be comprehensive. Only a few outstanding aspects are treated, such as are likely to interest Australians. I had exceptional opportunities for gathering impressions; for I met many Americans, and they were as a rule good enough to speak with great and illuminative frankness.

One note by way of preliminary. No modern nation monopolizes the virtues, or is exempt from a percentage of undesirables. No doubt that percentage exists in the United States throughout the various grades of the social structure, and is as large as in any other branch of the English-speaking peoples. That almost amounts to a truism. I only mention it because I personally met very few "rotters" in the States, though I encountered great numbers of people. Quite possibly I met folk who, taken as an aggregate, were rather above the average; that does not much concern me. All I am concerned with is to set down as honestly and faithfully as I can the impressions gathered during a brief but entirely wonderful stay in the United States of America.

If these notes seem very appreciative, I can only say they honestly reflect what I saw and experienced. I was not there to seek blemishes with a microscope; neither did I close my eyes when anything of the kind showed itself. The unvarying kindnesses and hospitalities which my wife and I enjoyed no doubt induced us to be friendly critics; but I do not think they clouded our judgment. Surely a sense of friendliness will have enabled us to understand America far better than we should have done if we had gone there in a spirit of hypercriticism or veiled hostility. We came away with a very cordial feeling for our many friends in the States.

Some estimable people are apt to entertain a rather poor opinion of other nations—almost as though this were a duty arising out of patriotic appreciation of their own. The flimsiest evidence in depreciation of foreigners readily impresses them; while proofs strong as Holy Writ in commendation would leave them unimpressed. Such people speak of the United States as if it were a country where

1. Blatant millionaires abound.
2. Trusts grind the faces of the poor.
3. Architecture expresses itself in skyscrapers
which touch the stars.
4. Municipal life is degraded.

5. Divorces are rapid and frequent.
6. The daily papers are violently sensational.

7. Lynching of blacks is a recognized pastime.

That is a fairly complete catalogue of the crimes usually and carelessly imputed. Let us examine them briefly. First let it be said that there are elements, tiny fractions, of truth here and there; but to exaggerate these particles into masses involves the aspect of essential untruth almost as much as if there were no truth there at all. As someone aptly expressed it: such particles amount to "that sediment of truth which promotes error."

1. The typical successful American business man is no more a coarse-mannered vulgarian, scattering dollars as a catherine wheel scatters sparks, than the typical Englishman is a blasé monocled idiot who calls everything "rippin'," and ultimately marries a chorus girl.

2. Several Trusts in the States are at this moment on trial, for combinations in alleged restraint of trade. Laws have been passed with the design of preventing these undesirable practices; but such laws, as other countries are aware, are not easy to administer. I touch on Trusts again a little later in these notes.

3. The skyscrapers are mostly in the very congested area of "down town" New York—say the last half-mile of the Manhattan peninsula. In

that section several structures rise to over thirty stories; while the Woolworth Building soars majestically to some fifty-five stories. Rapid lifts diminish the time factor to a trifle; no one resents climbing into the skies to visit another; the loftier stories place the tenant in a delightfully clear atmosphere, above the smuts and dust and noise of the lower levels. The Woolworth is, notwithstanding its enormous height, a beautiful structure. It stands as a fine perpetual monument to the pluck and industry of the man who made a success of the "5-cent store." The Equitable Building, No. 120 Broadway, is said to house daily, for working purposes—*i.e.*, apart from visitors—about 15,000 people.

4. Municipal life—in New York, perhaps, peculiarly—has its bad features, usually envisaged under the title of Tammany; but even Tammany has good phases not always so well known. Periodically a movement of protest cleanses the civic atmosphere; and at any time Tammany includes certain useful Friendly Society machinery, while making itself distinctly helpful to the bewildered immigrant. Some quite good men belong to the organization, and do not share in any way in its traditional iniquities. The impetus Roosevelt gave to the police, when over twenty years ago he created amongst them both prestige and *esprit-*

de-corps, is said still to survive; and I fancy I can claim personal experience in proof.

A policeman came to the office one afternoon, with a message from a young Australian soldier then in the —— prison, who had to answer a charge of theft at 9.30 a.m. the next day. Half-an-hour before that time I visited the prison, and asked to be allowed to see the prisoner. I mentioned that I represented Australia, but that I was not a legal man. I passed at least four policemen, all courteously ready to be helpful, but all a little puzzled, because only lawyers were allowed down there. However, they kindly passed me along, and I had a talk with the prisoner. It was merely a case of an injudicious drink or two, and an inebriate frolic; but the point was to convince the court. I reached the court in time to take a place at the legal table as the Australian lad was brought in. The complainant was there, with his lawyer; and, after I had again explained my position, and the evidence had been taken, I was permitted by the Judge to address the Court. No one objected; and presently the Judge discharged the prisoner. Now comes the pleasant side of the recital. I asked the complainant, an elderly man, to allow me the privilege of compensating him for lost time and legal fees; but not a bit of it. He gave the lad some fatherly advice about the evils

of over-frequent birthdays, and added that he was very pleased the case had ended as it did. I next endeavoured to give the arresting policeman a little present for his kindly help in calling at my office, but he too declined to accept anything, and added his congratulations on the youngster's discharge.

5. Divorces are fairly frequent, and in certain States the procedure is rapid. Yet I would hesitate to affirm that the institution of marriage amongst educated Americans is on the whole less respected than, for instance, in England. There is a collateral question of serious import for the States—I mean the very low birth-rate among the true-blue American society people; whereas that of the foreign immigrant is, I understand, fairly high. Where is a two-sided movement of that kind likely to lead America—say fifty years hence?

6-7. About the daily papers I will write presently; and anyone who feels inclined to condemn the occasional lynchings of blacks should, in fairness, first study the "colour" problem in the States—a feature fortunately non-existent in Australia.

No one can stay many weeks in the States without appreciating the intense patriotism of the people. They are as spiritual and intellectual as

the best elsewhere; more natural and ready to show enthusiasm than most; generous in their estimate of others, and wonderfully hospitable if they like you. There is nothing *blasé* or decadent about the typical American. As the late Mr. J. L. Griffith expressed it—(he was their Consul-General in London)—the American likes to be liked, and himself readily expresses his liking; whereas the Englishman thinks it rather doubtful “form” to tell you frankly that he likes you.

No modern nation can afford to be judged, or should in fairness be judged, in the light of impressions made by its globe-trotters or casual hotel occupants. The private home life of its people must be investigated before any fair pronouncement can be made. A feature which greatly struck my wife and myself was the refined courtesy we found in American home circles. We visited all kinds of homes—rich and humble—but in all alike the conversation was always skilfully directed to include and interest the visitor. Surely this is a very true type of that courtesy to which Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes referred as “Surface Christianity.” Elsewhere I have encountered another convention—that it was rather poor form to embarrass the visitor by “entertaining” him. The American hostess runs no risk of embarrassing her guests; she is far too skilled for that. The women study

the art of being gracious, lively and charming. They are, as a rule, well read and travelled—often more so than their husbands, who usually carry heavy responsibilities and have little leisure for touring.

Americans intensely admire achievement or success, but not unworthy success. They appreciate wealth, but only wealth wisely and generously used. Many are keen to amass means—especially the younger men with careers still in the making; but even these seem as a rule more intent to become “somebodies” in the community, than merely to acquire cash: and nearly all are generous with money. They honour culture and character; if you have these qualities, they do not care a straw whether your bank account is colossal or tiny. As Philip Gibbs found on a recent visit, they are keen, vital and intense. On the eve of his departure he wrote about that “generous emotion which he found stirred so easily among the people of the United States.” Elsewhere he said: “So far from being hard and material, they seem to me the greatest idealists in the world at the present time, and to be emotional almost to the point of sentimentality. In any public gathering, at any private table, the idealist takes all the applause, finds it easy to put a spell over his company, and can express his own sentiment with a simplicity and

emotion which would cause a smile or an ironical shrug in the sophisticated circles of England or France."

The American plays baseball, and cannot imagine himself playing cricket; with the Englishman it is the reverse. Cricket has a certain solemn, conservative, deliberate ceremonial, while baseball is impulsive, rapid and spontaneous. These national pastimes in a curious way typify certain emotional differences between the two nations.

One feature Australia enjoys in common with America—elbow room. We have less than two persons to the square mile; America, say thirty-five; and the United Kingdom about 625. As a "nation" Australia is very juvenile; so is America. So it comes about that the American instinctively feels a sort of elder-brother sentiment towards the Australian, but never quite gets out of his mind the notion that the Englishman may possibly be rather looking down on him as a comparative newcomer amongst the nations.

As in Australia, so in America there are no hereditary aristocrats, and there is little regard for the moneyed idler. Most of the wealthy men remain in active business, because they like to feel themselves still well in the current of affairs. With the Americans education is, up to the popular standard, free and compulsory—as with us. They

have the same fresh vigorous outlook that we have, and the word "conservatism" is not in their business lexicon. Comparing them with England, Philip Gibbs wrote: "Not so fettered by old traditions of thought, nor by old superstitions of class and caste. Every man has, consciously or unconsciously, a sense of opportunity which does not belong to our people, and that opportunity is there." Fortunately for Australia, it is also here—for any man who honestly strives.

For the Englishman his home is his castle, and his privacy is sacrosanct. He unconsciously gives expression to this fetish by walls or fences round his garden, to keep it unprofaned by stranger eyes. While expecting others to respect his privacy, he pays invariable respect to theirs. He may feel intense pride in his people or their performances; but he has had it drilled into him from boyhood that it is bad "form" to express that pride. All this explains a certain shy aloofness and almost stolid unboastfulness; attitudes which the stranger is very apt to construe as stiffness or assumed superiority. Even Australians are apt to misunderstand this mannerism—though deep down they may know well enough what a really good fellow is often hidden behind that veil of shyness. For the American it is not so easy to understand the reserve of some Englishmen—especially at the

outset of an acquaintanceship. The American is not hampered by over-rigid traditions of "form." He is always ready cordially to reciprocate friendly advances, whether casually encountered or under the ceremonial of introduction. If he honestly considers his people to have done well or ill, he does not hesitate to praise or blame; at the same time I hardly remember one instance of a fairly cultivated American talking boastfully in such a way as to be disagreeable. His home is his place of entertainment, where he enjoys meeting friends; and he readily joins in a scheme under which front gardens are handled from a community rather than a private point of view.

Contrast one of England's beautiful villages in summer time with a selected American residential village. The English village appeals to our sense of the historic picturesque with its quaint little shops and cottages, and its old thatched roofs; its narrow, winding road, walled on both sides, with little gateways giving peeps into tiny flower gardens bright with blooms, where grand old trees spread overhead. We stand to gaze at the grey stone church of Norman architecture, all thick with clinging creepers, and round about it the mounds where "the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep"; the squire's ancestral manor; and the inevitable "Red Lion" tavern, ripe with age and

tradition. Over all there broods a peculiarly unchanging serenity and charm.

The American village is often run as an incorporated concern, and is a model of neatness, with a certain uniformity of architecture. The gardens have no walls or fences; every householder keeps his front lawn trimly cut. The roadway is flanked by footpaths, and these again by wide grass lawns dotted with trees. The effect in summertime is very beautiful, for you drive through a vista of park and lawn, the homes well back on either side. Every owner not only enjoys his own "front," but has also a community interest in all other fronts on that street. The hotel will be up-to-date in architecture and fittings, and every bedroom will have a bathroom.

Both pictures are beautiful, each in its own peculiar way. One expresses an old civilization and charm of association, the other modern efficiency, with another kind of charm. But after all these are merely surface distinctions, and rise from different physical and historical conditions. The essential human nature underneath is much the same east or west of the Atlantic. Scratch the surface of the true-blue American, or of the Britisher, and you disclose the same dogged, indomitable type. Both are the lineal descendants of that heterogenous racial medley of the old days

—the Pict, Scot, Celt, Angle, Saxon, Dane, Norman, and possibly something of the grand old Roman of Cæsar's day.

Some of these surface distinctions (or are they resemblances?) are illustrated by the story of the American and the Englishman walking into the drawingroom of a mutual host. The Englishman walks in as if he owned the place; the American as if he did not "give a damn" who owned it.

Directly I landed on the wharf at San Francisco the unkind Fates introduced me to —— Blank. Possibly it would be more accurate to say that Blank carefully guided the Fates, for he saw to it that I encountered him with embarrassing frequency. He was more than middle-aged, and very voluble. He knew all the really big men in the States—Wilson, Roosevelt, and the rest—knew them fluently, and could give me letters to them. He knew Australia and my proposed work in the States better than I did, and he suggested I should employ him as a kind of advance guard, to work up interviews for me with the elect. When I arrived on the scene I was to have little more to do than collect the scalps. For these overwhelming services he did not seek payment; nothing so sordid as that; merely a kind of retainer, at £100 per month and first-class expenses. The day I left San Francisco he intercepted me on the ferry,

and handed me letters to two or three of the potentates in the East. I was ungrateful enough to drop these letters quietly overboard once he had diverted the sun of his countenance. Later on in New York I met one of those big men, and told him the story. He faintly remembered Blank; had met him once, years back, in the character of a rather crazy reporter.

I had heard that the American press representatives were most ingenious in compiling a "story," full of vivid points, out of the most commonplace remarks of a newcomer; and that in this story the exercise of ingenious fancy was likely to play a greater part than dull literal accuracy. The experience with Blank rather accentuated my alarms; but these fears afterwards proved to be quite groundless.

The Australian Government had requisitioned two very capable and loyal Australians in New York to assist me with Australian "publicity." The moment I arrived in New York there arose numerous requests for press interviews with the new Australian Commissioner. These two good friends deftly stemmed the current for a day or two, so that we might get the thing done in "one fell swoop." On the agreed day the Press representatives arrived in such numbers that the furniture was insufficient, and some of them had to

picnic on the window-sills, the floor, and all over the place. I invited them to put any questions they liked; these I engaged to answer frankly up to the limits of my knowledge—but all this *not for publication*. Then we would discuss what might reasonably be published; as to the rest I asked them to respect my confidence.

They fairly bombarded me with questions, while the two Australians watched over me with almost maternal solicitude. We got through somehow; and not one paper, either then or afterwards, attempted to go one inch beyond the matter agreed on for publication. Incidentally it should be added that they helped the Australian publicity work very generously at all times.

On the whole the leading New York papers impress one favourably—though, in comparison with the leading Australian “dailies,” they perhaps aim rather more at the sensational. Their political articles are apt to be more vitriolic than ours; but their readers are quite accustomed to discount these as much as may seem necessary. Altogether, in any reasoned comparison, we have no grounds for complaint about the standards and capacity of our Australian press.

In the United States there is a remarkable readiness to learn about Australia. In point of fact, there is a wonderfully comprehensive readi-

ness to listen to anyone about anything. This does not include sheer nonsense; but sometimes their thirst for information undoubtedly gives unmerited audience to interesting "cranks."

They always seemed surprised to learn that Australia covered about the same square mileage as the United States—bar Alaska; and they were always prepared to listen with infinite patience to recitals about Australia's sunshine, spaces, resources, peoples, and customs.

They know nothing about the six States of Australia *as States*—it is just "Australia" that interests them. After all this is not so very remarkable, when you come to think of it. We know very little about Massachusetts, Illinois, Iowa or any of the other States; and we too are apt mentally to realize the forty-eight States as just "America." If we make exception it is in favour of California, the nearest State to us, just across the Pacific.

Occasionally this lack of exact geographical information leads to curious confusion—for instance, as between the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand. One merchant in the States wrote to me in sorrow rather than in anger, the burden of his lament being that some Melbourne customs regulation was creating embarrassing difficulty about his landing certain goods in Auckland!

With so large a country the climate naturally varies very greatly; that of New York is unique. The mean summer temperature is some two degrees hotter than Sydney; the mean winter temperature is about twenty-two degrees colder. As there is always moisture in the air, New York City suffers the most trying type of heat at one period of the year, and collaterally the most Arctic kind of cold at the other. I have shivered in New York with the whole-souled *abandon* of a criminal awaiting execution.

The native wears thin underclothing in winter-time for the hot central heated indoor life; but when he goes outside into the blizzards, he puts on thick furs—if he has them. Outdoor games become largely impracticable during the winter months in places like New York, owing to the cold and the snow. The devotee of exercise can, however, get a pale kind of substitute in the indoor games of the Clubs—such as squash tennis, squash rackets, gymnastics, etc.

In addition to the original train journey across the Continent, from San Francisco to New York, I visited—some of them more than once—places like Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Albany, Northampton and others. Certain work took me up to Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto in Canada; and I also enjoyed a motor-

car ride from Little Moose Lake in the Adirondacks into New York—about three hundred miles. These excursions gave me a very vivid impression of the apparently illimitable resources of the country and its vast possibilities in the way of primary production. Lakes, rivers, and canals occur every few miles. They have a desert in the west, but not so large as ours; and it is flanked by mountains which yield melted snow waters in the spring. Irrigation systems are converting some of these desert places into productive areas.

Winter snows in many of the States are a detriment, in the sense that they necessitate hand-feeding of stock, and interrupt several forms of outside employment. But there is a compensation, in that the spring sun, melting the snows, starts the spring growth with abundant soil moisture.

Nature has been kind to the United States in other respects, for coal and oil and ores abound. Cotton grows richly in the south, while the northern states grow wheat and stock and all the other farm products. Their coal is nearer the surface than the British—or most of ours—and they utilize more machinery. Their production of nearly three times more per man does not necessarily mean, therefore, that in the States the individual miner toils three times as hard as the Britisher. Another very great advantage is the vast internal

markets created by a population of about 107,000,000, with a high-spending power per head. This renders easy the great industrial capitalizations with which the country abounds, and particularly their standardized "mass" production. Their internal possibilities, capital requirements for development, their great railroads and industrial ventures, keep them busy. Before the war they were undoubtedly over-absorbed in purely American affairs, with some inevitable loss of wider vision. These conditions may possibly have provided rather too much scope for the big Trusts; that is a matter of opinion, upon which one heard conflicting views in the States. The average business opinion seemed to be, that while possibly some of the Trusts had taken advantage of the situation, on the whole they had not inflated prices, and that the value to the community of highly-skilled management and initiative was too great to be lightly risked by abolishing the Trusts—better to "regulate" them. I have an idea, founded on little more than rather vague surmise, that some day yet several of the central States may commercially combine and throw off their allegiance to New York and other eastern ports. They may utilize, to a far greater extent than at present, the Mississippi and its tributary streams for water carriage to the south, and some day New Orleans

may become a great despatch port for goods going south as well as for those going west *via* the Panama Canal.

Between August, 1914, and April, 1917, while the great European nations were at death-grips in France, Belgium, Italy, and the East, the United States accumulated huge profits; and their bigger men realize that they owe a duty towards the war-stricken countries—especially to the smaller peoples—because of these accumulations. Quite possibly shrewd business methods will characterize their efforts, but if the bigger men prevail, they will yet use some of their wealth with the definite idea and aim of helping those impoverished and exhausted combatants to their feet again.

England is rich in its grand retrospect of statesmen, soldiers, sailors, scientific men, scholars and writers. The Englishman must be very sluggish of imagination who can stand beside the tombs of the great undying dead without a deep stirring of his national pride and patriotism. Superficially one might be apt to regard the United States as by comparison poor in historical background. A visit to the country tends rather to dissipate such an impression. They venerate the memories of the sturdy *Mayflower* pioneers, whose spirit of independence drove them, three hundred years ago, to unknown territories where they might possibly suffer untold

physical hardships, but where they would be free to express unhampered the spiritual faith that was in them. That spirit was a potent factor in the War of Independence, and survives to-day in their descendants. The American venerates Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Hamilton, and other stalwarts of that era of struggle for separate national existence. One of the interesting features to a visitor is the extraordinary strength of the Washingtonian tradition at this moment—the tradition, that is, that he bade them keep clear of entanglements abroad. Several of their Presidents rank very high in popular appreciation; also writers and thinkers; also the great generals of the civil war of 1860; and above all towers the figure of Abraham Lincoln, the simple great-souled patriot, the greatest democratic leader of any time or country.

With his undoubted capacity for generous emotion and enthusiasm, the American makes the most of these historical traditions, and very wise he is to do so. But he does more. As a cousin he is beginning to realize that he also shares in the earlier national heroes of England.

It is a circumstance to note that several bright American plays produced in late years in Australia dealt with the modern "crook." For two acts he was ingeniously busy in "skinning the

boobs," and generally establishing his exalted rank in the hierarchy of turpitude. In the third act he usually suffered a rapid moral reformation. He was always a lovable "crook," and Australian sympathy pervertedly went out to him in his "get-rich-quick" antics, while it almost sighed a regret when finally he became converted to the relatively uninteresting paths of rectitude. I have sometimes wondered whether such plays—backed by exaggerated press reports about vampire trusts and "fake" financiers—tended to spread the idea, amongst the untravelled in Australia, that America was a happy hunting ground for "crooks." In exactly the same way the manners of the stage American detective no doubt severely libel that force. For purposes of histrionic effect it seems to be regarded as necessary for the detective to enter a drawing-room with a cigar in his mouth and his hat on the back of his head, while in a raucous voice he subjects ladies to a violent "third degree" interrogation.

You cannot measure "crookness" (or is it crookedness?) with a tape, for statistical comparisons. Possibly in the States the occasional business "sharps" use more novel and startling methods than in most other places; but it remains probable that the proportion of sharps to reputables is about the same there as elsewhere. It is unfortunate that

in any civilized country a few men in every thousand will be tempted to try devious tricks in order to acquire wealth more rapidly than by the unexciting methods of plodding merit. That seems inevitable—until the curtain of the millennium shall be rung up.

The best brains of the country go into business. Many of their universities and schools have special courses and degrees in economics and commercial subjects; and many of these institutions enjoy very generous endowments from business benefactors. For some years their young men have also had the opportunity of specialized training in *the duties of citizenship*—citizenship as yet with an American horizon, but not a bad foundation for a higher form of teaching in international citizenship possibly to follow. The commercial houses encourage these studies by giving positions of value to successful graduates.

The leaders of the business world are, as a rule, fine men—keen, capable, honourable and courageous, and with a distinct tendency in many cases towards idealism. Each individual exponent does not every day and always act up to the higher traditions—after all, who does? It is, however, a national asset that the tendency is undoubtedly there. It is combined, no doubt, with great shrewdness, but the general direction seems

to be increasingly towards humane methods in the relations between employer and employed, and to a sense of service due to the community. They have the usual percentage of rigid employers of the old school; men who are loth to yield an inch and who readily invite a contest. Here I am writing rather of the general trend than of particular persons.

Some of the younger men are apt at times to talk rather ordinary humanitarianism under the impression that they are handling profound psychological questions; still, one would make a grave mistake to deride these efforts, because in the last analysis they show a movement in the right direction.

One almost concludes that Americans are at times too ready, in their zeal for efficiency, to adopt new methods in mechanism; but it would require more detailed knowledge than I possess to do more than very tentatively suggest the thought. They will not tolerate the obsolete or the second best, and so far they are undoubtedly right. No archaic process lags superfluous on the stage; no likely prospect is hampered for ten minutes by lack of funds. Whatever else may be wanting, they can always find the money.

The bigger corporations, banks, and businesses are constantly on the watch for capable young men,

who are paid salaries enormous from the Australian point of view. To some extent high remuneration is necessary to compensate for the very high cost of living; but on any "weighted" comparison with Australia the salaries paid are much larger in the States. Many of these young men work very hard, to the possible detriment of health, and also of their interests in the home, literature, travel, etc. I came to the conclusion that the majority were by no means mere confirmed dollar-chasers. In a country which looks coldly upon the wealthy idler and which greatly admires achievement and efficiency, these young men strive hard for success—no doubt also for money; but the dominant idea is to attain the status due to success. The older men, who have "arrived," do not as a rule work either so hard or for such long hours. Both young and old—I mean the typical men—are generous with money, especially to their women folk.

In the States the friendly visitor regrets that in one or two instances there seems to exist some lack of reciprocity. For instance, their copyright laws do not protect foreign writers as adequately as the American author is protected in, say, Australia. Their Banking Laws do not, in a number of States, enable the "foreign" Bank to take deposits, though as a rule such banks can, subject to minor restric-

tions, do other kinds of banking business. This is a pity; and such blemishes, one hopes, will soon be cleared away.

If New York is to be taken as typical of most big American cities, then one may readily compliment the Americans upon the efficiency of their city regulation systems. Anyone who, in New York, once understands that houses are numbered eastwards or westwards from Fifth Avenue (and he should do this in a few hours) can hardly have difficulty with any address in Manhattan. The avenues run north and south, and it is practically impossible to miss, say, No. 43 East 123rd Street, once you know that you must get off any north-bound car at that clearly-numbered cross-street, and then make for No. 43 on the right-hand side of Fifth Avenue. All numbers are consecutive, odd on one side and even on the other. One series goes east of Fifth Avenue, beginning at No. 1, and a similar series goes west. No slow heavy traffic is allowed on such avenues as the wonderful "Fifth," and few horses are seen there in carriages or cabs. The traffic is mostly petrol-driven; it whizzes up and down at a terrific pace along the blocks, subject only to police stoppage every now and then at the street intersections. If you cross the street anywhere except at an intersection, you void your policies in the event of accident. The

risk is too great for any Insurance Company to take.

Several of the bigger hotels have subterranean passages into the underground electric traffic systems; and, while I stayed at the "Biltmore" (43rd Street), I could, if necessary, go down to my office at No. 61 Broadway, some miles away, without putting a toe into the open street. I was not aware of this during my first few days in New York, and on one occasion, in order to keep a one o'clock "down town" lunch engagement, I innocently took a Ford "taxi" outside the hotel at about twenty minutes to one. It had a disc inside indicating its birthday—eight and a half years before. It was a mere hundredweight or so of assorted ironmongery, only clinging together by the grace of God, and only travelling by virtue of the ingenuity and enthusiasm of a Hibernian chauffeur. We were stopped many times by the traffic, and we in turn often stopped the traffic while the chauffeur got out and coaxed the weary machinery. I arrived "down town" nearly half an hour late; and, if I had only known, I could have got there by the Subway in about fifteen minutes! New York is not, however, uniformly up to the "Fifth Avenue" level. There are also densely-populated poor quarters, such as the eastern side of "down town," where the foreign element congreg-

gate by the thousand, and where they tend to preserve their alien, and sometimes hostile, nationality.

I have already mentioned that the severities of winter rather interrupt outdoor sports in the snow States. In the warmer weather there are innumerable baseball grounds, tennis courts and golf links always in full occupancy. Good baseball is mainly professional or collegiate; the crowds who watch the senior professional league games are often enormous, while the carefully trained skill of the players is astonishing. Senior football is hardly played, except at the universities, where the close and distinctly dangerous "gridiron" game is to-day virtually universal. Cricket is played very fairly at Philadelphia, but not seriously in many other centres. Golf and tennis clubs abound. Some of the former are remarkably well laid out, with magnificent club houses, and the standard of amateur play is high. Rowing is on an amateur basis, and mostly confined to the universities.

American amateurs have been attacked for taking their games too seriously, and for practising too thoroughly—thus infringing, in some way, the canons of amateurism. To me, I must confess, such an argument seems rather strained. I like to see any youngster thorough in his games, if only because slackness there is apt to be duplicated in his work. The American, temperamentally, is

never satisfied with existing conditions. His ceaseless endeavours to improve the mechanism of games led him to invent the rubber-cored ball at golf, as well as the more compact "socket" driver. He discovered the screw-serve at tennis, and the "monkey seat" in racing. In track and other outdoor athletics the teaching and training are systematic and thorough. What canons of amateurism can be assumed to be broken by genuine thoroughness of that kind I confess I cannot see. In the American it is consistent, for it is the exact counterpart of his thoroughness in other phases of endeavour.

In the collegiate football game the greatest care is taken to train the teams in the intricate signals and manoeuvres of the game, and this involves useful aspects of team play. I cannot say I personally admire the rules of the game they have evolved. The "gridiron" play seems to me to have lost the beauties of the "open" play of Rugby, and to offer too great a premium to mere brute force. They play it with wonderful dash and courage; but far too many get hurt.

I shall, I hope, be pardoned if I record the following incident connected with the Davis Cup contest of January, 1920—Australia being the holders. America chivalrously refrained from challenging, because none of their prominent players

had been lost in the war; and it was thought that Australia, in this respect, was at a disadvantage. A prominent Australian tennis man, then in New York, went with me to the tennis authorities, and we endeavoured to persuade them to allow us to bring about a belated entry for the States—since England, France, and others had challenged. We put it broadly that Australia would wish the best team to win, no matter whence it came. I need not detail all the arguments; it suffices to say that we could not shake their decision—a decision entirely creditable to American sportsmanship.

SECTION II

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL

I DO NOT propose anything so ambitious as even an abbreviated description of the American Constitution. I shall merely touch very lightly, and without any attempt at elaboration, upon one or two features which readily strike the newcomer.

Under the British Cabinet system the Premier and his colleagues are necessarily members of Parliament. If a Parliamentary majority is at any time recorded against them, out they go. If any special matter is ventilated in Parliament, the particular Minister concerned usually explains it on the floor of the House. There is a certain admirable compactness about a system under which the men who are responsible for both policy and administration are members of the legislature, and personally answerable to it.

In the States the electors every four years determine who is to be President; the entire House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate are elected every two years. As votes are

on strictly party lines—Democratic and Republican—the probabilities are that the newly-elected President will have a majority in both Houses. He selects his own Ministers (they are called Secretaries) usually *outside the Legislature*; in effect they are really great Departmental heads rather than Parliamentary “Ministers” in our sense of the term. If they are members of the Legislature they forfeit their seats. They are directly responsible to the President and not to Congress. At the outset the President “nominates” his selection to the Senate, and unless the Senate records an objection within a day or so, the nominations stand. It is not customary to object to the President’s nominees. Presumably the circumstances would require to be very exceptional to justify objections.

Two years after the Presidential election the Representatives again face the electors, with another third of the Senate, and, if public opinion has in the meantime strongly swung round, the President’s party may be in a minority in both Houses for the last two years of his term. That is indeed President Wilson’s position to-day, ever since the elections of November, 1918. A rather awkward situation is thus set up, for Congress can veto anything the President puts forward, while he, in turn, can at any rate *once* veto any legislation the Houses may pass. If the Houses

afterwards so desire, they can again pass the measure, and, if it secures a two-thirds majority in each House, it is carried, irrespective of the President's wishes. A President can only be dismissed by "impeachment" for treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours. But the term has not quite the sinister meaning it attained in earlier British history. In America it signifies the legal process for questioning a President's use or abuse of his powers or position, and in the event of an adverse decision his term thereupon ends. In all their history only one President has been impeached—President Johnson in 1867. The Senate sat as judges, not bound by the ordinary rules of evidence. The trial was on political grounds, and failed to establish the charges by a narrow majority.

Among political devices growing in favour in the States is one which has a special interest for Australians. This is the "recall" of public officials before the end of their term of office. Though occasionally used in Switzerland, the provision is essentially a product of the Western United States; there it is very popular both in the municipal and in State Government, but few States of the Middle West, and hardly any east of the Mississippi, have adopted it.

The method of it is this: Whenever a certain

percentage (from ten to twenty-five per cent.) of those who voted at the last election sign a petition for the removal from office of any public official, a fresh election to that office must be held, at which the impugned official will be a candidate unless he prefers to resign. The interval between presentation of the petition and the new election varies from three weeks to five months. The election is decided sometimes by a simple majority, sometimes by a majority of all votes polled. It is interesting to note that executive officials have six months' grace before they can be recalled; while legislators may be petitioned against as soon as five or ten days after the first session of the legislature opens.

The full American practice, which generally includes judges of the State Courts (Federal Judges are not elected officials), would hardly appeal to Australians; but its application to members of Parliament might be occasionally useful. Should, for instance, a Minister of the Crown be so severely criticized by a responsible official body that his colleagues have to get rid of him from the Ministry, this can be accomplished constitutionally, as we know; but the constituency that elected him cannot get rid of him so easily. It may have to wait nearly three years—in the case of a Federal Senator, nearly six—before it can express an opinion on his behaviour. That is neither fair to the

constituency nor to him; and some form of "recall" might be found advantageous.

There is always, throughout the States, a strong sentiment of loyalty to the President as such. This entirely admirable feeling comes under terrible strain when, for instance, a keen Republican feels a deep political antipathy to a Democratic President. The proprieties prescribe a certain restraint in attack upon the President of the day; while human nature may clamour to be let loose with an axe.

If a special question is ventilated in Congress or Senate, the Cabinet cannot personally answer, for they are not members. They get political friends who are members to reply for them; not so satisfactory a method as ours.

Most of the latter-day Presidents used to address the legislature by written communications. President Wilson has introduced rather an innovation by delivering his "message" in person. It sounds the better way; but there are adverse critics, perhaps not so much of this as of other alleged innovations of his. The Houses conferred very extraordinary special powers upon the President in April, 1917, when the nation came into the war; but they did not abrogate the established rule that the President can make treaties only *in conjunction with the Senate*. President Wilson might reply

that he has not yet made a treaty ; that he has merely discussed and suggested one. Still, many people I met in the States rather regretted that the President had acted so much alone in the negotiations, to the neglect of the Senate's co-equal powers.

Finally, the Senate in the United States is a body with far greater powers than, for instance, our Federal Senate in Australia. Take, for example, the Senate's "Foreign Relations Committee," at this moment handling the enormous issues of the Peace Treaty and League of Nations. It has the power—if a majority in the Chamber supports it—to turn down the President's programme. The situation to-day is distinctly awkward, because the President is a Democrat, while the majority of the Foreign Relations Committee, since November, 1918, are Republicans.

Even if I had fairly complete first-hand knowledge, it would still be a very undesirable thing on my part to express opinions about the President. At any time it would be extremely difficult for an outsider to disentangle the man from the official. A tremendous prestige attaches to the office ; but at the same time a very fierce light beats upon the Presidential chair, and the occupant of it cannot expect to escape censure from political opponents. In public life the only protection against attack is obscurity ; a President can never be obscure. Ex-

treme views about him are expressed both by political opponents and by supporters; the truth may lie somewhere midway, and is not easily determined. Here I confine myself to the average views I heard from all sorts and conditions of men.

It goes without saying that no one would be likely to attain the position without some qualities of greatness. One readily recalls Mr. Wilson's fine action upon the issue of the Panama Canal tolls, and the moral appeal of his war addresses in April, 1917, as illustrating some aspects of greatness. Add to this that he is a capable historian, and a fine writer and speaker, with a certain genius for turning sonorous idealistic phrases. That is how the Democrats would describe him; and they would add that their political chief must obviously be a far greater man than the Republicans concede, otherwise he could not possibly have occupied so commanding a position in the recent councils of the nations at Paris. Nor would they accept the Republican suggestion that possibly the prestige of the office, and the great economic strength of America, to a large extent furnished the real explanation.

Even among strong political supporters there are at times candid critics. Very occasionally one met Democrats who admitted a certain uneasiness about some of the President's speeches before April, 1917; for instance, the phrase "too proud to fight";

the advice that Americans should be neutral *in thought* as well as in deed; the fact that he seemed to recognize no differences in the war aims of the two sides. Even Homer was said to nod at times, and here and there a Democrat seemed prepared reluctantly to admit that these were fairly strong Wilsonian nods. Finally, they would say that certain internal difficulties strongly suggested caution in declaring war, whereas Mr. Roosevelt in power would have declared war prematurely, and so possibly have incurred grave troubles which President Wilson ingeniously avoided.

The Republicans were strong in condemnation, and their list of political crimes imputed to the President lacked nothing for completeness. The following rapid summary must be read with the consciousness that no President, however perfect, could have escaped some incrimination of the kind, under the existing conditions of political controversy:—That President Wilson discouraged before April, 1917, the “preparedness” for which Mr. Roosevelt and Gen. Leonard Wood were clamouring; that war should have been declared, at the latest, after the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May, 1915; that he won the November, 1916, election on the peace ticket, and soon afterwards yielded to public pressure by declaring war on Germany in April, 1917; that he conducted the war on political

party lines, excluding men like the two great Republicans mentioned above; that his war administration was ineffective—as witness the delays with guns, shells, aeroplanes, shipping, etc.—and this notwithstanding enormous expenditures; that the internal control of railways, post and telegraphs, telephones, prices and wages was equally ineffective; that he took too much authority into his own hands, to the neglect of the co-equal powers of the Senate on certain important aspects, and this notwithstanding that the elections of November, 1918, virtually censured his administration.

Now that the Senate (since November, 1918) has a Republican majority, the Senators composing it would be something more than human if they neglected the opportunity to embarrass the President over the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations. It will be a pity if large issues are to be coloured by local politics or personal considerations, but such considerations will continue to weigh with human beings until men cease to be a little lower than the angels.

This is not the place to attempt any real discussion of the League of Nations, but it may be pointed out, as a matter of interest, that President Wilson, to secure its adoption by the United States, has bigger obstacles than mere personal animosities to surmount. First there is the strong Washington

tradition ; to keep clear of European entanglements. It is as strong among Americans to-day as if their great national hero were still moving and speaking among them. A doctrine which had everything to commend it one hundred and twenty-five years ago —as wise guidance for a small population of some two millions in thirteen struggling States—still remains potent under totally different conditions. Whether forty-eight States, with their financial and commercial ramifications all over the world, should still cling to that tradition is matter for grave consideration. A great people of 107,000,000 can hardly to-day keep entirely aloof from the troubles of a sick world. Quite apart from international ethics, it can hardly afford to do so for commercial reasons. Expanding American trade requires buying power and security abroad, and these things have yet to be laboriously re-established in the war-stricken nations. If Americans are to help the oppressed and see justice done, it will not suffice to utter occasional words of protest ; they must be prepared for strong remedial action. The American readily acquires a sense of "service," though at present with reference mainly to his own country. Later on he will see his duty with a wider horizon, embracing mankind, and then the Washington tradition will vanish with yesterday's morning mists.

The "League" issue is for the moment rather splitting the political parties; for all Democrats do not support it, while some leading Republicans (like Taft and Wickersham) strongly advocate it. America, like other countries, realizes the need to have some machinery to prevent such another war; but (a little illogically) some Americans seem to desire to incur no responsibilities themselves.

Their Spanish war brought responsibilities in the Philippines, which are still greatly disapproved of by the hard-shell Monroe-doctrine American. The idea of possibly vastly greater responsibilities under the League rather appals that type of citizen. As the Monroe doctrine is not always exactly understood, here are the crucial sentences in President Monroe's historic pronouncement:—

"The two Americas are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power. . . . We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

While the Eastern States—at any rate the majority of the educated individuals in those States—are friendly to England on most questions, and incidentally on that of the proposed League, in the Middle West and West I was told there is unfortunately some distrust of English motives,

while they dislike the idea of having the United States dragged at Great Britain's chariot wheels, as the anti-British propagandists put it. There is erroneous comment about the so-called preponderance of British voting power, because the Dominions each secured a provisional vote. There is an inclination, carefully fostered no doubt, to believe that England emerges from the war the greatest gainer of all, and that the League is a cleverly conceived British scheme to drag America across the Atlantic as a participant in future British quarrels.

That this is all as grossly unjust as it is essentially ridiculous does not alter the fact that such sentiments exist, and that strong, temperate, explanatory statements in refutation should be published. The huge British effort, both on sea and land; the staggering financial obligations cheerfully assumed, and largely utilized to assist the Allies; the terrible losses of young manhood, and the saddening numbers of the maimed; the tremendous work and risks cheerfully undertaken by women in the munition factories; the gradual conversion of Britain into a huge arsenal; the invincible tenacity and dogged resolve of the nation; all these need to be put fully and clearly before the public in the middle west and western States. Meantime the misrepresentations about Britain

form another of the factors which President Wilson has to combat in his campaign to pass the League scheme successfully through the American legislature. And, finally, there is the important consideration that he does not appeal to a nation of one racial origin—but to a nation of very diversified racial origins.

The following opinion was expressed to me by an American who has held distinguished political positions, and who remains a very keen student of affairs: "The mass of the people are strongly and widely in favour of some League of Nations, but without clear ideas as to the appropriate structure for this new authority. The principal factors in opposition would rank in the following order (1) The traditional policy of isolation, or non-interference in Europe; (2) strong local political antagonisms; and (3) Irish and German propaganda.

President Wilson is not all academic austerity; one of his relaxations is that of the humorous raconteur—for he is said to have a large store of telling (and publishable) stories. Here is one: A well-known citizen visited a hotel, having recently looked upon the wine when it was red, and noisily demanded a room. He was assigned to No. 120. Shortly afterwards he reappeared, and still more noisily demanded another room. The manager signalled quietly to an

attendant to pacify him and conduct him personally to No. 119. The attendant did so—and then, out of sheer curiosity, asked: "What's the matter with No. 120?"

"Why, the damned thing's on fire!" replied the citizen.

SECTION III

RACIAL

I do not propose to discuss the Irish question as such. I do not regard myself as an authority on that vexed issue, and I had no time to give it any very special investigation in the States. I propose to do little more than set out its manifestations in that country, as they more or less inevitably strike an impartial sojourner who keeps his eyes and ears open.

It is not easy to ascertain the exact number of Irish in the United States. It is on record that the numbers of those born in Ireland, or whose fathers or mothers were born in Ireland, totalled about four and a half millions according to the census of 1910. To these must be added those who have come upon the scene since 1910, also those of more remote Irish parentage. The full total may possibly run up to fifteen millions, or thereabout. In any case they are unquestionably numerous enough to carry great weight in national and civic affairs. Many Irishmen have achieved

deserved success in various grades of the social scale, and of these a large proportion keep clear of anti-British propaganda. On the contrary there are other Irishmen, of the agitator type, who are ceaselessly active in that work.

Let me endeavour briefly to sketch the points of view of a typical loyal Britisher, and of a responsible American, in relation to this Irish question.

The views of Britishers, as I often heard them in the States, would be something like this:—

1. That the majority of Irishmen in the States have never seen Ireland, while many are the lineal descendants of Irishmen who lived in the black days of the middle of last century. That the agitators carry in their hearts the hatreds of their forebears, and ignore the transformations of the last twenty-five years. England remains in their eyes the bloody-handed oppressor of the bad old days.

2. That they must be well aware that England has in recent years spent millions on measures to enable the native tenants to buy out the so-called "foreign" landlords, on workmen's homes, and the like. That to-day more than two-thirds of the soil is in the possession of small proprietors who are slowly paying the purchase price to the British Government. That these peasant proprietors have enjoyed excellent prices for their farm products during the war.

3. That the agitator makes capital out of the suppression of every rebellion, but never admits that the Sinn Feiners start the rioting, or that the English corrective action is always applied too tardily rather than too readily.

4. That the violent language of Irish extremists, at meetings all over the States, would be over-strong if applied to Russians conducting a "pogrom" against the shrinking Jew, or to Turks administering indiscriminate death to the Armenian.

5. That the strategic unity of the United Kingdom, with the interlocking affiliations of trade and finance, render it impossible to grant independence to an island geographically so close. That there are the additional considerations that some of the people do not desire "independence," while others (who do) were recently in league with enemy Germany during war time.

The attitude of the average educated responsible American would be roughly as follows:—

1. He would say that he is constantly bombarded, in the press and at meetings, with extreme Irish views, but rarely sees or hears the authoritative British case in reply. He may dimly suspect that the agitator case is overstated, but he has no exact data by which to check the statements. He is aware that in the Middle West and West the less-educated American is apt to fall an easy prey to the

Irish propagandist, largely because the case in rebuttal is rarely presented. He is on the whole bewildered, and he often subscribes to Irish funds, because his sympathies are readily touched by the apparent fervour of the appeals, without really understanding the questions at issue.

2. He would admit quite frankly that he does not know much about England's ameliorative work in Ireland during the past twenty-five years, or about the complicating case for loyal Ulster. He is puzzled because the Irish agitator the other day wanted Home Rule and to-day insists upon an independent Republic. He has heard about some intermediate alternative, styled "Dominion Home Rule," but he is not very clear what that precisely means.

3. The League of Nations' proposals have riveted the world's attention upon the rights of small nations and "self-determination," and arguments derived from these proposals are ceaselessly presented in the States, as applying to Ireland. The American would admit that he is temperamentally and historically prone to look with sympathy upon a people who (superficially) seem to him to occupy something of the position of the thirteen American States in 1776. He would experience a little difficulty in admitting that the Irish issue might as readily suggest to him his own civil war of 1860,

waged more to *prevent secession and preserve the Union* than to emancipate the negro.

4. Early in the war he was for a time rather disgusted with the Sinn Fein attitude in Ireland towards enlistment; but after April 1917 this feeling was to some extent mitigated by the ready enlistment of Irishmen in the States.

5. "Why don't the British give the Irish their freedom?"—is a question the American frequently hears from people who are often genuinely anxious to know the real answer. He hesitates to formulate judgment against England, but he is growing impatient. The ceaseless Irish agitations in the United States spill over into local affairs, and the American is getting rather tired of it all.

The Irish vote is an important factor in American elections, and many of the newspapers consequently give prominence to Irish views. The American would argue that it is easy for the outsider to place far too much importance upon such publications, for the matter is, as a rule, intended only for home consumption, like the periodical twisting of the British lion's tail as election times approach. He himself knows how to discount all this; but he is aware, in relation to Irish propaganda, how dangerous are half-truths and untruths constantly published, especially where there is little or no official reply. He would quote the inimitable

Mark Twain in support: "One of the most striking differences between a cat and a lie is that a cat has only nine lives."

6. He is rather keen upon more sympathetic relations between the two great branches of the English-speaking peoples, and to him the perennial Irish agitation is an anxiety and a hindrance. He does not presume to suggest a solution to Britain; he does not know enough about the matter to justify that; but he does very sincerely hope that one of these early days British statesmanship will find the right way.

7. Finally, he is inclined to think there may be something in the famous epigram about the Irish: "They don't know what they want, and they won't be happy till they get it."

That is, roughly and broadly, how the Irish question impresses the visitor to the States. At any time it is not easy to interpret exactly the minds of other men, or to boil down a thousand recollections of talks, conversations, articles, speeches and incidents into a brief categorical series. However, I don't think the foregoing summary is very wide of the mark.

It is not easy to ascertain the exact number of "foreigners" in the States. As a preliminary, some fairly exact definition of the term "foreign" would be requisite. The position is complicated by such

considerations as naturalization, which outwardly converts the newcomer into an American citizen, but inwardly may leave him, in all essentials, a foreigner. One estimate put the number of people of foreign parentage at one in seven of the total population, say fifteen millions. Add to this the people of partial foreign parentage, or with foreign affiliations of one kind or another, and the total, loosely classifiable as "foreign," would be much greater.

Most Australians have a general idea that for years hordes of people, from south-eastern Europe particularly, flowed into the States, always filling the unskilled labour market with cheap labour, and causing some industrial unrest by the incidence of this rapid immigration upon wages and the standard of living. The Australian has wondered how far these people could, at the pace of arrival, really fuse with the American people. The observant visitor to a place like New York could not be otherwise than struck by the frequent Jewish and German names; the East Side "down town" colonies of foreigners, hardly able to communicate with other national segregations across the street; and the many newspapers printed in foreign languages. A coal-mine owner told me that, in order to give effective legal notice to his miners, he had to put up notices in some fifteen languages.

Before the war the patriotic American was apparently under the impression that as soon as the foreigner came in at Sandy Hook, saw the Liberty Statue, and landed on American soil, some subtle alchemy worked in his soul and converted him, there and then, into a citizen imbued with the admirable principles of the Declaration of Independence. The American now knows better; and there is a strong movement on foot to "Americanize" the incomer in some more effective way. It is realized that the great "melting pot" cannot perform these sudden miracles, and that the pace of immigration has been too great for real absorption. One or two friends admitted to me that they now regarded racial fusion as unlikely on the part of the average foreign parent; but they thought the schools would successfully "Americanize" the children. (Primary education, by the way, is admirably conducted in the States—and in excellent structures). Also, there was some talk in New York about disallowing the printing and circulation of newspapers in foreign languages, since these tended to foster non-American sentiment.

Notwithstanding all this, the "melting pot" has not by any means been a total failure. As a rule, in the long run the newcomers "Americanize," though not really as rapidly as was supposed. It may be added that the undoubted trend of civiliza-

tion in the States is towards Anglo-Saxon standards.

There are one or two collateral considerations. In connection with this question of Americanizing the immigrant, Secretary Lane stated that illiteracy affected some ten per cent. of the population. This is a very serious statement. Take out the big proportion of educated Americans, and the percentage of illiteracy among the others becomes extraordinarily heavy. It is fortunate for Australia that our people are almost wholly of British stock, and that we have no serious foreign or negro problems to solve.

In the States there was some discussion about authoritatively stopping immigration for a year or two, and I fancy from recollection that something of the kind was immediately in prospect. The war had already stopped the influx for the time being, and the idea was to prevent a rapid resumption for a year or two; this partly in order to leave room for repatriating the returning soldiers. At the same time it was said that large numbers of foreigners in the States were voluntarily returning to their native countries, attracted by the new conditions and new frontiers set up by the peace treaties. With immigration restricted, and emigration fairly free, the double movement may somewhat alter the incidence of the "foreigner" question.

The sojourner in New York is likely to be impressed, early in his stay, by the numbers of coloured folk in the streets, the trams (trolleys), and the subways. They are usually well dressed, quiet and good natured; happy children temperamentally, until they get really angry or drunk—and then they are apt to become distinctly awkward. Most of the railway attendants in the passenger cars are blacks, as well as a proportion of waiters in hotels and clubs, hat and cloak room attendants, and the like. This kind of personal service, and the rough work in the open, they secure; but not the orchestra stalls or dress circle seats in the industrial theatre, for the native American keeps the skilled artisan work largely to himself.

In one or two New York centres there are whole streets occupied by negroes. After a few of them secure lodgement by purchase, the whites leave the district, and their houses are bought up by the blacks at heavily depreciated prices.

I had heard of the excellent attention given to travellers in the railway cars, but I confess I was a little disappointed. The blacks did the work well enough, but their manner was at times distinctly casual. I made enquiry, and was told this had arisen since the Government took control of the railroads. The negroes regarded themselves as no longer servants of a company, but rather as

Government officials, and so comparatively secure from dismissal.

The coloured soldiers have been praised and petted on their return from the war, though I gathered that, while fairly good in attack, they were somewhat unreliable in the more protracted, cold-blooded and stubborn business of defence. On the Continent and in London many of them had been allowed entry to the so-called gay life of the cities, and had come back with exaggerated ideas of their own importance. The parade of a returned "black" division occurred before I left New York, and was a tremendous event. If the onlookers contained a biggish percentage of the dusky-skinned, it remains that the general enthusiasm was very marked. Quite right too, in a way; but whether the effect on the negro was entirely salutary is another question.

In the south, in the cotton States, the negroes still do not generally vote, notwithstanding the result of the Civil War. It is not that they are to-day forcibly prevented; but it has become a sort of recognized custom that they shall not exercise their ballot-box rights. In the southern States they are more or less accustomed to restrictions, and have not hitherto seemed greatly to resent this; but when large numbers recently migrated to the north, attracted by war work and war wages in the

munition factories and the railroads, they instinctively looked for better civic privileges than they had enjoyed in the south. Had not the north fought in order to grant them these very things? Were not all the States to-day acclaiming their valorous performances in France? Certainly in the north they could freely vote; but even there they had to take a lower rung in the industrial ladder; and it is hardly to be wondered that they did not quite like it.

Knowing these things, I asked several friends—thinkers who weigh the questions of the day—how they regarded the case, especially in view of the prolific black birth-rate, and the total black population of some twelve or thirteen millions. As a rule they did not regard the question as a serious one. A particularly well-informed legal man said that if the black birth-rate was high, so was their juvenile death-rate, with the consequence that the coloured total was not rapidly growing. I had a vague impression that these good friends rather deliberately closed their eyes to the trouble, and that their views expressed their hopes quite as much as their convictions.

I was not really much surprised, a month or two after I left New York, to read about the serious “coloured” riots at Washington and Chicago, when the military had to be called out, and quite a

number of deaths occurred. In Washington the trouble seemed to have started over unwelcome attentions pressed by blacks upon white women, and in both cases the deeper underlying sentiment seems to have been a sense of injury because equal civil rights were not accorded.

My wife and I were privileged to visit a great military camp near New York, capable of accommodating some 85,000 trainees, and we were kindly shown round by the Commandant. As we went the rounds we passed a negro corps, headed by their band. The evident delight of the men with their uniforms and the music and the "show" generally was both amusing and interesting. The Commandant said they were just good-natured children, "tickled to death" with the military pomp and circumstance. He told us one or two amusing yarns about these men.

Of one big black soldier he asked this question: "What would you do, Sam, if you suddenly saw a big German in front of you, armed with rifle and bayonet, and ready to go for you?" At once came the reply: "I just done quick, Boss, what he told!" —this with a broad grin.

A returned coloured soldier, in response to a query, said that he had been a "door-keeper." Asked to explain, he said he opened a little door at the butt end of the gun, while his comrades slid in

a shell. He added that after the shot he used to jump on the gun-carriage, and defiantly call across No Man's Land: "Kaiser, count yo' men!"

I spoke of these men doing hat and coat attendant work in clubs, and some of them exhibit quite extraordinary proficiency in their duties. One well-known negro never gave identifying discs or tickets, trusting wholly to memory. To test him, a club member one day said: "Sam, how did you know that was my hat?" Sam replied that he did not know it was the member's hat. The latter then said: "Well—why did you give it to me?" "Cos, Boss, you gave it to me."

SECTION IV

INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL

THE world-war has released spiritual forces as yet incalculable, both in their scale and in their incidence. Old-established ideas have disappeared for ever; new conceptions of rights and wrongs have not yet crystallized. The psychology of the Labour world has undergone its changes too, and the old answers will no longer suffice; the necessary readjustments still remain to be determined. The immediate symptom is universal industrial unrest, and America is no exception to the rule. But the Australian reader will misunderstand the American situation unless he first masters the essential differences between American and Australian labour problems.

In Australia the manual workers are almost wholly British, the "foreign" percentage being negligible in point of numbers. These workers, too, are as a class educated up to the primary standard (often, individually, well beyond it), while the percentage of illiterates is insignificant; they are

mostly unionized; they have developed a powerful political organization; and they have taken part in a twenty years' experiment of Compulsory Arbitration.

In the United States the complications to which I have already referred are set up by the foreigner and the negro. These people do the unskilled rough work, leaving skilled work as a rule to the American-born. The latter are always surprised to hear that in England the British manual worker does the rough work. The American at home expects to enjoy a higher standard of wages and of living than the foreigner; and he considers himself as to some extent losing caste if he works alongside foreigners or negroes. He has usually enjoyed educational advantages like those available in Australia—illiteracy characterizes rather the other two sections of American labour. Also he is to a large extent unionized, whereas the unskilled workers as a rule are not. Less than three million workers in the United States are as yet unionized; they are the aristocrats of the labour world, and exercise in the industrial sphere a strength out of proportion to their numbers. They usually succeed in carrying, sooner or later (at any rate of late years), their demands for improved conditions. At the same time (as I have mentioned elsewhere) they have hardly begun to develop the political side

of the movement. Nor have they sought—they do not seem even to desire—any Compulsory Arbitration machinery.

The United States are utilizing automatic and labour-saving machinery to a greater extent than other countries, and this explains their large output per man as compared with Europe. Comparatively, in the States mechanism plays a greater part than muscle.

Furthermore, I fancy piece-work is practised in America to a far greater extent than in Australia. Piece-work and bonus systems automatically reward the more skilled and rapid worker; but our Australian Unions seem to resent rewards of that kind, preferring that all unionists should move together, the brisk and capable operator along with the dullard. I have the impression that in the States these systems are in places attacked by unionists as tending to overwork men and to decrease the number of jobs. Still, I think I am correct in the broad idea that there is more piece-work there than in Australia.

I was asked to speak about the Australian phase of Compulsory Arbitration at one of the periodical dinners of a Society which cultivates the discussion of such topics. I stated that the system was one-sided in application, and basically a failure, since it had encouraged rather than prevented strikes.

Mr. Gompers, who was present, cordially agreed, and said that he regarded it as an impracticable method of settling industrial differences. In this he apparently represents the general view taken by Unionized Labour in the States.

In Canada also I inquired into the local system of Compulsory Arbitration, and there the punitive provisions cover individual fines, whereas ours provide possible imprisonment. However, a recognized expert on their Act admitted to me that, when it came to big masses of men, they could no more successfully extort the fines than we could gaol the men. In this sense legal compulsion seems bound to break down wherever it is attempted; for it is useless without punitive provisions, and such provisions cannot, as a rule, be enforced against big Unions.

The United States appeared to be moving towards the "get together" method—"round table" discussion—in the spirit of the British Whitley Reports. Here and there big employers are showing a readiness to co-operate with their workmen. While retaining final control, these employers readily recognize that the men are entitled to know much more about the industry in which they toil than has hitherto been the case. Many employers, too, have made some headway in humanitarian provisions for their work-people—such as subsi-

dized benefit and pension schemes, libraries, gymnasiums, and the like. This movement is not universal, but it is growing, and likely to be successful; and that is more than can be said of our Compulsory Arbitration. With us the artificial antagonisms and delays of court hearings tend to create bitterness and to keep the parties asunder; whereas the humanizing atmosphere of direct discussion, round a table, by the parties concerned in the particular industry, must surely lead to more rapid and satisfactory results. The one good feature of our Australian system is the basic living wage; but that can be independently secured.

America is no more free from strikes and the "go-slow" cancer than we are. The "go-slow" trouble is a very difficult one to measure exactly, or to express quantitatively. I propose, therefore, to say no more than this. I often enquired about its extent in the trades based upon day wages, and my general conclusion was that it was not quite so severe as irritated men of affairs were inclined to assert; on the other hand, if a direct comparison could be instituted, it would probably be found worse, on the whole, there than in Australia. Employers in the States do not hesitate to pay big wages, and naturally want a fairly commensurate production. They realize that the "go-slow" evil, if protracted, must lead eventually to financial ruin

for employers and employed alike; while it exercises a terribly deteriorative influence on the character of the worker who deliberately "slack[s]."

During the war—*i.e.*, since April, 1917—the United States Government has done its utmost to secure continuance of work, and to prevent strikes; but by the doubtful expedient of frequent and heavy increases of wages, and the ready granting of other demands made by the workers. Consequently wages are now at a very high level, and the labour bodies have virtually thrown down a general challenge to anyone in authority, Governmental or private, who may seek to reduce these rates.

Since the Armistice there have been several serious strikes, on various grounds. They are, as a rule, the work of the "foreign" agitator, rather than of the unionized American workman; but behind them all is widespread discontent with the extremely high cost of living and with "profiteering." There has been profiteering in the States, as in other countries, and no doubt the workmen hear very exaggerated tales of the profiteer's doings. The recent big strike in the steel trade is said to have been largely the work of the foreign element, coupled possibly with some restiveness at what is regarded by the men, rightly or wrongly, as the unapproachable attitude of the steel magnates. One of the Labour leaders recently wrote: "We

have a democratic form of Government, but an aristocratic control of industry. So we now advance to the new crusade with all the fervour of pilgrims." There is probably just enough truth in such a statement to render it awkward to contest.

Mr. Gompers is quite a remarkable old man, and a very able one. He would have made a considerable mark on his time, apart from his recent association with President Wilson at Paris and elsewhere. The labour world is led by the "American Federation of Labour," and that Federation is led by Mr. Gompers. It contains awkward and fractious elements—I.W.W.s and Bolsheviks—and these unruly elements Mr. Gompers kept in strong and salutary check during the war, though at any moment now trouble may break out. Mr. Gompers has no easy task. He is a wise man, with no sympathy for "go-slow" or revolutionary methods. One wonders on whom his mantle will fall.

Farm labour was said to be already scarce when I left the States in June, 1919, and this applied also to the blacks in the southern cotton-fields. The war had stopped the incoming stream of "foreigners": many of those who had already arrived were heading back to Europe, and some had risen in the social scale. In a city like New York domestic servants were becoming almost as extinct as the dodo or the moa; wages, for the few

available, were consequently high, ranging from £2 to £5 per week. People on the smaller salaries cannot pay such wages, and the future presents some undoubtedly serious problems. Since I left the States I have seen estimates showing the probability of a large shortage of labour generally in the early future, notwithstanding the repatriation of their soldiers. If so, then it is a virtual certainty that wages will not fall: they may even rise yet higher.

Before the war, wages in the unskilled trades were about 6s. per day, now they are about 14s. For ordinary skilled work before April, 1917, 24s. to 30s. a day was paid; to-day in some cases it commands £3 or more. Possibly there will be some downward adjustments of the exceptional rates, but it is hard to forecast anything in that connection. Early this year the cost of living was, broadly taken, nearly double that of Australia, while the purchasing power of money was little more than half ours. In their industries mass production and standardization—with plenty of the most modern machinery—enabled employers to pay high wages with a fair amount of ease. They were also assisted by the huge profits they made during the earlier stages of the war, before America was in it. At the same time they have to solve (just as we have) several grave Labour problems before

they can regard the industrial outlook as reasonably secure and serene.

When a great nation of 107,000,000 people suddenly goes "dry," there are likely to be both questionings and anxieties amongst neighbour nations. To the United States it means a loss of revenue from Customs and Excise of some £300,000,000 annually; and it also brings about a serious situation in one or two Western States, such as California, whose wines were beginning to be exported in fairly large quantities. It also means a material loss of business to England, whence spirits were freely exported to America—and similarly to France, in respect of wines.

I was in the States when the national referendum decided the matter. The curious feature was how very unexpected (at any rate in New York) the decision seemed to be. The average citizen did not appear to have thought much about it, and seemed to be taken completely by surprise. The position was accentuated by the fact that the decision (which takes effect from the 16th January, 1920) provided for no compensation. Not only was a traffic, which had grown up under the law, to be extinguished without notice or compensation, but the sudden cessation of the many trades and occupations directly and indirectly con-

nected with liquor must obviously create a large number of unemployed; and this did not seem to have been particularly considered in advance by anyone I encountered.

Actually the country went dry on the 1st July, 1919, but that was a temporary six months provision under special war powers, to cover the period of demobilization. It was hoped by many that President Wilson would intervene, and mitigate the rigours of the six-months fiat by making an exception in favour of light wines (in the interests of Californian vignerons) and beers containing 2.75 per cent. of alcohol or less. In the event this proved a vain hope, and on the date named the United States went "dry" as regards the public sale of alcoholic liquor.

This temporary arrangement expires on Dec. 31, and the "national" decision will then apply. In Australia, a national referendum would be voted on by all electors in the country, and would require to be carried not only by a majority of all votes, but also by a majority of States. In the United States the reference is to the legislatures of the forty-eight States, and if three-fourths ratify, the question is deemed carried. It has been alleged that the American temperance fanatics did not hesitate to bring something very like undue pressure to bear

upon legislators, not only with regard to future voting support, but also by raking up personal records from incompletely buried pasts. However that may be, it is a certainty that the ardour and organized work on the temperance side were widespread and effective. Many of the churches aided the movement; in places, it is said, business boycotts were utilized to press the cause. The "wet" counter campaign seems to have lacked anything like the same scope or cohesion. Many of the brewers were Germans, and their voices in protest were, at that particular time, hardly raised, and would in any case have been ineffective. The nation's decision came literally with the unexpectedness of a thief in the night.

More than the necessary three-fourths—in fact 45 out of the 48—of the States ratified, and the requisite Enforcement Bill has lately been passed. This measure prohibits the sale (save for medicinal purposes) of all liquor containing over one-half per cent. of alcohol. Citizens may keep liquor privately; but they may at any time be called upon to prove that they do not hold it for sale. Finally, there is to be no domiciliary search. The nation is deemed to have spoken, and the national voice has to be obeyed. It will need a reverse decision at another referendum to turn the United

States "wet" again; but another referendum in the early future seems rather unlikely.

What then were the main arguments utilized during this extraordinary campaign? Some were of course mossy with old familiarity; but let us classify the two sets after the fashion of the sagacious Burleigh when he was advising good Queen Bess on the questions of the day.

Against Prohibition.—1. To the American the idea of reasonable personal freedom is peculiarly dear, for his separate national existence is based upon a struggle for freedom one hundred and forty years ago. Why—he would say—should ninety-nine moderate drinkers be denied an occasional glass because the hundredth sometimes indulges in that "beggarly damnation drunkenness?" Why not be stricter with that one man, and with the saloons which over-supply him? Why deny the genial host the reasonable pleasure of entertaining his guests on traditional and strictly moderate lines?

2. He would add that the excessive drinker lacks self-control. If the delinquent is debarred from liquor, he will inevitably break the conventions in other and probably more harmful ways (*e.g.*, by the use of drugs or by patronizing illicit stills) with worse effects on health and character.

3. He would also urge the danger of unemployment and the Californian aspects of the case, to which references have already been made.

4. The Bible does not interdict moderate drinking, say the "wets."

5. If prohibition is to be the new law of the land, why not honestly compensate activities which have grown up under the sanction of the old law?

6. Total prohibition converts into a crime that which the honest convictions of masses of people refuse to consider as such.

For Prohibition. — 1. Increased industrial efficiency, with decreased crime and pauperism, was predicted. In a country like America, where efficiency is especially appreciated, this argument carries far. The "wets" say that many criminals plead "drunkenness" in order to mitigate sentences, whether they were really drunk or not. If, however, the quoted statistics of decreased sentences and reduced pauperism in States already dry are correct—as the "drys" strongly assert—they are difficult to argue away. The "drys" add that, in order to attain the more blessed condition indicated by the statistics, the moderate drinker should be ready to "forswear sack."

2. The "drys" dwelt on evils such as the two hundred New York night cabarets and dancing

saloons, where young girls were plied with liquor by old men of the Silenus type. Also, they urged the danger to the community when negroes over-indulged in alcohol and became satyrs or assassins, with the inevitable consequence of "white" reprisals.

3. In answer to the "wet" arguments, about sly drinking and drugs, the "drys" suggested stringent legislation to suppress private stills and the illicit sale of drugs. (Something has already been done as regards drugs.)

4. No great amount of unemployment—the "drys" added—need result from abolition. The breweries, they said, could turn to the manufacture of ice-cream and candies, for which a greater demand would arise when alcohol was abolished.

5. Why trouble to compensate an unholy traffic, said the "drys." (A poor argument: but freely used.)

After all, the prohibition movement was nothing new. A number of States were already "dry"; several others had local option. The juxtaposition of "dry" and "wet" States did not lend itself to ready enforcement of the law in the former; but national "dryness" is quite another matter. Imports can now be effectually barred; the rest is a question of countering private ingenuity and deter-

mination. The W.C.T.U. have been at active work since 1873, and the Anti-Saloon League since 1893. On the whole the women were "dry"; for it is they who feel the burden of the trouble when the bread-winner wastes his wages and dissipates his health in saloons. In the Middle West and West the better educated classes were also very largely "dry" advocates, because in those regions the saloon typified all that was worst in social and political life. In the East—for instance, in a city like New York—these classes do not personally encounter the saloon, and its influences as they do further out.

"Will the States remain 'dry'?" was a question often asked. The answer is not easily supplied. The nation will do rather extraordinary things in response to any moral plea which appeals to its emotional side: but in this particular decision one had the idea that the majority was more surprised into it than really convinced. At the same time there it is: technically a national decision, and one not easily reversed.

Most wealthy people, no doubt, have started the new era with well-stocked cellars. Manual toilers may yet have something to say, since there are now no saloons to supply them with "long beers" after heavy work in dusty or hot surroundings, while the more fortunate owners of cellars can indulge at ease,

at any rate to the limit of the stocks now on hand. One wary New Yorker of sixty-two is said to have consulted a physician about his reasonable expectation of life. Upon being told "about ten years" he went off and laid in stocks of assorted liquors estimated to last twenty years.

In the Dominion of New Zealand the National Efficiency Board reported in July, 1917, on the total prohibition question, and recommended that, in the event of prohibition being carried, compensation was "manifestly" necessary for all whose legitimate interests were abolished. Incidentally the report foreshadowed as results of prohibition decreased crime and pauperism, with increased national efficiency.

The United Kingdom seems quite unlikely to attempt total "dryness."

In the United States it was freely said (whether by way of joke or seriously was not always apparent) that there was at any rate one mitigation ahead. Pure grape juice, unfermented, with a pinch of yeast and a couple of raisins, would provide all the hilarity any festive occasion could reasonably require.

During the war the world's shipping suffered losses—from enemy action and sea perils—aggre-

gating some fifteen million tons, of which the British share was about nine million tons.

Here are some significant figures, collected from the annual report (1918-19) of the Chamber of Shipping in the United Kingdom:—

British losses of shipping during the war	Tons.
the war	9,031,828
Gains—British construction	4,342,296
Purchase abroad	530,000
Enemy ships captured	716,520
	—————
	5,588,816
	—————
Net loss ..	3,443,012

COMPARISON OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN PRE-WAR AND POST-WAR SHIPPING

July 31, 1914, British gross tonnage (steam)	20,523,706
Oct. 31, 1918, British gross tonnage (steam)	16,859,936
A decrease of 17 per cent.	

July 31, 1914, United States, gross tonnage (steam)	2,069,637
Oct. 31, 1918, United States, gross tonnage (steam)	*5,116,521
An increase of 147 per cent.	

*No indication is given whether this total includes captured German tonnage.

British construction is proceeding again, and very skilled construction it is. One of these bright days the old total tonnage will be restored: but, in the new world-situation, how are we to revive the old profusion of cargoes?

For some years Americans have felt worried about their comparatively shipless condition, involving as it did the result that a microscopic proportion of American goods was carried in American vessels. There was, too, possibly an inclination to glance enviously at the extensive British tonnage and its wide-spread utility. In July, 1914, America owned about two million tons; rather more than four years later she had over five million tons, and there were about 340 shipbuilding yards scattered about the country, all capable of a vast total output. No wonder the public mind was full of ambitious programmes for the future. There are, however, some obstacles to be overcome before America can stand high on the list in the friendly rivalries of the world's ocean carriage.

At enormous cost and in great haste the States during the war built wooden and steel vessels. At the same time, in order to avoid stoppages of work, Government increased wages and prices of materials freely and frequently. In the wooden vessels unseasoned timber was used. When I left in June, 1919, the Government was wisely doing its

utmost to sell these comparatively ineffective ships, and was paying huge compensation to cancel wooden construction contracts. Government steel construction is, no doubt, improving in quality: but I was told that the earlier vessels were not regarded by experts as specially successful. The rapid establishment of enormous shipyards is comparatively an easy matter; but shipbuilding is no simple science, and it may require many years to evolve the requisite surroundings for high-class construction such as that at Belfast and on the Clyde.

When I left the States, the American Government seemed likely to go out of the shipbuilding business: for there was a strong feeling abroad that only war justified Governmental construction. Now the war was over, there was a very general sentiment that the sooner Government ceased such work the better. If this cessation comes about, some yards may be rather left "in the air"; and, in any case, the original heavy cost of construction will require large sums to be written off in order to put the vessels built in war-time on a reasonable capital basis. Feeling is equally strong against the running of vessels by the Government, and no doubt the new Governmental tonnage will presently pass into private hands.

The conditions secured by the Seamens' Union, and translated into Governmental regulations,

render it difficult for the American mercantile marine to compete successfully with other tonnage. More men have to be employed in the vessels than are strictly needed; wages are comparatively high; and there are very special rules as to food and accommodation. Owners in consequence often sought foreign registration. I heard, too, doubts expressed whether the States could find enough American sailors for a really big tonnage, for the opportunities on land—especially the railways—attracted men away from the sea. If these conditions are to remain, the shipping interests will no doubt suggest Government subsidies to counter-vail the less onerous “foreign” regulations. There is a strong sentiment in favour of private ownership and management; but the idea of subsidies in such matters is not popular. If subsidies were granted, there would no doubt be added collateral conditions about Governmental supervision and regulation of freights.

It will be seen, then, that the ambition to possess a great mercantile marine is likely to require very careful adjustment before it can be consummated. The States are keen to capture more of the South American trade, and to that end have been advertising some of the big captured German tonnage as a special inducement. The Panama Canal also opens up vistas of possibilities yet to be fully

tested. The American shipping men I met in New York were not, as a rule, very sanguine about the future; but the war had only recently ended, and it was too early to form final conclusions. Too many important factors were still undetermined. The nation is so ready to undertake big projects, and its monetary means are so great, that one hesitates to say that it is unlikely to achieve anything in reason which it specially desires.

Everyone has heard of "Hog Island." Let me give a few salient details about it. A little more than two years ago it was a tract of waste land on the Delaware River. By September, 1918, it had become the biggest shipyard in the world, with accommodation for 34,000 workmen, and with fifty shipways for 8,000-ton steel vessels. All this was roughly one year's work. The money put into it was enormous; all sorts of denunciations were hurled at it in the press and the legislature, without, however, disclosing any maladministration. It was war-work, carried out at breathless speed and quite regardless of cost.

There are some points in this connection which competing nations would do well to study carefully. American experts claim; (1) that they can secure the requisite steel more cheaply than other nations; (2) that they can complete an 8,000-ton vessel in twenty-five weeks; (3) that standardized

construction of a maximum of fifty vessels at a time reduces the cost of each very materially, as against construction by threes and fours; (4) finally, they cite the increasing skill and efficiency of their yard labour. This last feature, they claim, is attested by the entirely satisfactory running of nearly fifty vessels so far launched. Construction has slowed down since the Armistice; but where exactly will such a yard figure in the future ship-construction of the world? Though the largest yard, it is yet only one of many yards in the States. Whether you entirely accept the claim to first-class construction on the American system or not, here is matter to give any nation pause. It may be that the "fabricated" vessel has not quite the finish and "soul" of the vessel built in the historic yards. On this point I am not personally capable of pronouncing; but he would be rash who would affirm that the American tonnage is unlikely to sell well enough, or to work well enough for all reasonable sea-carriage requirements.

In Australia the railways have been always State-owned; not as the outcome of any particular economic doctrine, but because there were no private funds to undertake the work. The State capitals were hundreds of miles apart; and as each State began, years ago, its modest programme of railroad building, it did so on any gauge deemed

suitable at the place and moment, with little thought for the awkward situation likely to arise when the rail systems met at the State borders. For their main lines Queensland and West Australia adopted the 3 ft. 6 in. gauge; Victoria and South Australia the 5 ft. 3 in.; and New South Wales the 4 ft. 8½ in. The "transcontinental" Federal section, one thousand miles long, which connects Adelaide with Perth, has the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge. There have been many discussions about unifying the gauges, but the cost would be heavy, and the war has postponed such work *sine die*. Strategically these breaks of gauge may be gravely disadvantageous, but for goods and passengers the trouble is not so serious in practice as it might seem. Most goods pass from capital to capital by sea, rail transit being too costly for such long haulage. Passengers suffer some inconvenience where one system meets another of different gauge; but even so it amounts to little more than crossing a platform with the light luggage, while the railway people see to the heavy "booked" luggage.

In the United States the railways are all privately owned, and under normal circumstances privately managed. The gauge is the standard 4 feet 8½ inch practically throughout. Rates were under State control for some few years before the war, with considerable clamour from the corporations con-

cerned that the schedules were too low to permit of profitable working. Under the Anti-Trust laws these lines were unable to co-operate or combine for purposes of rate maintenance. On the whole the management was good, and the systems were well run; but latterly the reduced earning power in some cases had led to deterioration of the permanent ways.

As a war-measure the Government on the 31st December, 1917, took over the management of the railways, mainly in order to cut out needless services, and thus save labour and coal. Owners were, in the meantime, to receive compensation equal to standard returns, and for a time were able to sit back without anxiety and watch the Governmental manipulation of their lines. Notwithstanding the advantages of centralized control, Governmental management was very largely condemned as unsatisfactory, and in its hands the permanent ways have further deteriorated. The wages of railway operatives were increased with almost feverish readiness, thus adding to the burden on the public Treasury; but low railage rates were maintained, and the owners in the background began to be anxious. About the time I left the States (June, 1919) a very vexed issue had arisen—in the legislatures and elsewhere—over the question whether Government control was to be protracted, and, if

not, on what terms the lines were to be returned to owners. For the latter the situation had become distinctly awkward, since the ways had been "let down" rather badly, and the rates chargeable were said to be as a rule insufficient under the new conditions of wage-rates and cost of materials. Also, many millions were needed to restore the condition of the tracks.

Many plans came under discussion, but it would be profitless to examine them in any detail here. Broadly, it looked as if the lines would presently be returned to private ownership, under some kind of Governmental control as to rates, but probably with increased rate schedules.

Since I left America the labour bodies connected with the railroads have put forward a strong demand for nationalization of the lines, *with labour participation in both management and profits*. The idea of Governmental ownership and management is not, however, palatable to the average responsible American mind. They believe very strongly in the superior efficiency of experienced private control—supervised, if necessary. Labour's demand for participation in profits is curiously illogical. It starts with the notion of ousting the present private owner, whose capital, initiative and brains created these railway systems, so that he shall not participate in profits: while the railroad's

manual workers, who did none of these things, are to participate.

When the Government assumed control of the railways, it also, about the same time, took over the Telegraph and Telephone systems. In these cases, too, the comparison between Governmental and private management seems to have been markedly in favour of the latter. The systems were recently handed back to the owners—on the eve of a serious strike declared by the operators in both sections.

The world's trading and financial interests are so interconnected that a nation prospers best when all other nations are prosperous. Under the spur of necessity and by dint of much ingenuity the nations had gradually and laboriously worked themselves into a fairly sound position for mutual trading. Supplies of gold, with its concomitant credit, were not evenly and proportionately divided, because nations differed widely in thrift and skill, and in business qualities: still, these things were distributed in a way tolerably efficient for purposes of interchanges. Then came the great war, and the carefully built structure disappeared. The United States emerged with too much financial power, completely upsetting the old healthy balance. The United Kingdom is still financially strong; but its

influence on international finance is somewhat curtailed for a time. One or two neutrals prospered during the war, but are negligible from any large point of view: while the other belligerents are seriously crippled for many a day to come. Meantime the United States have more gold than they know what to do with, and trade balances are so strongly in their favour as to upset rates of exchange and discourage other countries from purchasing their exports. It may be a long and weary pilgrimage before the world's resources will be once more healthily distributed for purposes of interchange. Patience and courage and skill will be needed to bring about a really sound international business basis.

How it was calculated I do not know, but I recently read a statement of apparent authenticity —at any rate it was made in a well-weighed and responsible article. It was this:—

1. *In 1912 the United Kingdom did nearly 27 per cent. of international trade.*

(We know she was a great creditor nation, and was said to have invested outside Britain over four thousand millions sterling.)

2. *In that same year the United States did nearly 10 per cent of international trade.*

(They were a debtor nation, with a capital mainly absorbed in their great internal markets and

shares and industries. Before the war they were not serious investors in foreign securities.)

The war has greatly widened the outlook for American moneyed interests, and the future is likely to disclose a readiness to expand abroad which has been comparatively absent in the past.

Before America came into the war, her external investment movement started with the successful Anglo-French War Loan of £100,000,000, notwithstanding strong German opposition and thinly-veiled threats. That the loan was a remarkable success becomes apparent when it is realized that it was not only contrary to their pre-existing tendency to confine themselves to American investments, but that the money market was at the time a little strained by buying back American securities which the Allies were selling in order to stabilize the exchanges. First and last some £600,000,000 of such securities were bought back during the war, and in addition the Allies sent across some £240,000,000 in gold. All this was not enough to pay for war materials bought by the Allies, and special loans were made by the States in order to redress the trade balances and assist the Allies. Up to the date on which America entered the war (April, 1917) the Allies had borrowed from her about £600,000,000; while the whole of the war-borrowings amounted to about £2,000,000,000. As

against this a total of only £9,000,000 was lent to Germany—of course before April, 1917.

This might be styled the *external* financial war contribution of the United States. Super-added was the internal effort. I was in the country when two or three war loans were floated. The thoroughness of the canvass and the general enthusiasm were alike admirable. The great bankers patriotically assisted, while the concentration of resources in the fourteen Banks of the Federal Reserve System made comparatively easy the carrying through of large money operations. Taxation became heavy, especially income and excess profits taxes; for the United States were said to have raised about one-third of the war costs by taxation.

Great Britain started the war with a national debt of £645,000,000. In March, 1919, her total debt had risen to £7,435,000,000, of which £1,350,000,000 represented external debt. As against this £1,350,000,000, the Allies and Dominions owed Great Britain £1,739,000,000. The United States Government in 1914 had a trifling debt; the people made tremendous profits from August, 1914, to April, 1917; then they came into the struggle themselves, and began to spend money like water. They now owe (internally) some

£5,200,000,000, of which about £2,000,000,000 was lent to the Allies.

I have already mentioned the great resources of the forty-eight States in products of all sorts: the initiative and industrial courage and efficiency of their people: the large accumulations of gold, and the almost unlimited extensibility of their credit. With all these favouring circumstances, will New York displace London as the world's money centre—as the recognized clearing-house for international exchanges of goods? Some American financiers probably have this ambition: and they may think that the recent transfers of very large money resources to New York render it a certainty. Behind the ambition there is, no doubt, a little jealousy of the extraordinary position hitherto occupied by London in this connection. Other American financiers, I think, have a wider and a juster view. They realize the inevitable interdependence of all great money centres, and they recognize that the geographical situation of London—next door to Europe—gives it a great natural fitness for the work it has so admirably performed.

London had (and has) some very remarkable recommendations. The United Kingdom bought from all countries and sold to all. She lent funds to all who were able to offer reliable securities, and this—as a rule—without imposing onerous trading

conditions. London was the one really free gold market in the universe. The insular position of the country was a security, rendered doubly secure by our unmatched navy. The short loan market was unique: the steady interest rates, wisely regulated by the Bank of England, rendered time transactions as a rule closely calculable: and the world-wide reputation for integrity of the great money houses, gained in three hundred years of trading, had no parallel elsewhere. Some of these features may be impaired for a while; but the majority remain, and will continue to operate when normal conditions recur.

New York has not yet evolved a short loan market in any sense comparable to that of London; and it is yet very young, as a leading banker frankly admitted to me, in the machinery and knowledge of international trading. The money rates are not regulated by any such system as that supervised by the Bank of England; and the market is consequently rather at the mercy of occasional attacks of nerves on the part of the public. British interest rates remained almost without alteration throughout the war, and notes were freely accepted as legal tender—exhibiting a wonderful proof of the nation's confidence in its money Institutions. American rates have altered frequently, and sometimes (for a day or two) to

levels unknown in England. At any moment, in one of those sudden flurries characteristic of the New York market, the rates may rise to 10, 15, or even 20 per cent. per annum for day to day money.

Possibly some little diversion of the international clearing-house business may yet result, so that it will not be quite so exclusively a London job as it was in the past. But that London will be seriously superseded in the early future is by no means likely.

I encountered men in New York who were quite aware of the great profits amassed by the United States in the earlier stages of the war, and they realized two resulting obligations. One a sort of duty laid upon them to assist the war-stricken European nations; the other a necessary extension of credit to those nations, to enable them to purchase in the States the materials for reconstruction. One trusts the views of such men will prevail, rather than the ideas of exponents of the doctrine that every loan must carry strict trading advantages for the States—in other words, that here is America's chance to exploit the sore necessities of impoverished Europe.

I deemed it only right to speak frankly in the States, more than once, about certain phases of future Australian-American trade. An Australian, speaking in New York just before I arrived, had (possibly without intention) given the impression

that a commanding proportion of Australian trade was America's for the asking. I pointed out:—(1) that our sense of patriotism—not to mention our monetary obligations—would always direct a large proportion of our trade to the United Kingdom; (2) that this United Kingdom trade had been interrupted, in many directions, by war urgencies, but would certainly be resumed presently; (3) that Australia would not desire to expand trade with any nation to the detriment of her trade with the United Kingdom; (4) that America's opportunity lay in the direction of the trade previously done with Germany.

Americans, in my experience, never resented frank honest statements: and they did not in the least resent the foregoing: though these must have sounded a little disappointing in their ears, after the glowing periods of that previous Australian speaker.

Pre-war Germany was a free buyer of nearly all Australian products, and we shall now need to look round carefully for buyers, and especially for buyers able to pay cash. There, too, America can come in; but if the States buy freely from us, they will also expect to sell something to us.

SECTION V

GENERAL AND FINAL

You instinctively say "damn," for the sake of the mental relief, when you bang your shin against a kerbstone. In somewhat the same way the ordinary man needs occasional relief from the trying and tedious processes of linguistic correctness. Slang is the result. Much has been said about American slang: sometimes suggestions that it borders upon vulgarity. Let us briefly examine the question.

American slang has the qualities of directness, brevity, and humour. Their first-class speakers do not in formal addresses use slang, except very occasionally and for special emphasis: but in ordinary conversation one hears plenty of it—singularly apt, as a rule, but rarely vulgar. Very occasionally one hears an expression which grates on the unaccustomed ear, but what nation's slang is entirely free of such?

If you have work to do—"go to it" or "get busy"; if you succeed you have "put it over," or

you have "delivered the goods." If one is restless they will say of him that he will not "stay put": if he is peevish they may ask "What's biting you?"—and so on. There is no vulgarity in such expressions: but, as the American employs them, a certain quaint fitness. I often heard their after-dinner speakers wax hotly indignant about the war-crimes of Germany and her Kaiser: they would add that just punishment must be meted out to the latter, for it would never do, in the interests of Germany herself, to allow the arch-criminal to "get way with it."

In England one hears certain words tortured by repetition until they cease to have any meaning, *e.g.*, absolutely, rotten, ripping, priceless, and the like. It is a singularly unenterprising kind of addendum to language. It adds no vivacity to talk —rather the reverse. There is far more "punch" in the American method.

Baseball in the States has a terminology all its own, and the more capably humorous reporters receive high salaries for reports which read like Choctaw to the British stranger. "Rooters" and "fans" are the folk who supply the frenzied excitement of the onlookers. The discerning philologist will see at once that "fan" is short for fanatic. The "bleacher" is the onlooker in the cheaper outside seats, with no roof over him.

That too is clear enough; also such terms as "two baggers" (two runs): and "spitball," when the pitcher salivates a section of the ball to attain a certain spin. But why a left-hander is a "south paw" is not so clear.

I well know the value of a column in such a paper as the *New York Times*, as I occasionally sought it for Australian publicity. It was as difficult to place ordinary "stuff" in that sacred region as for the wealthy man to pass through the eye of the needle. But baseball is the chartered libertine of journalistic space. So I was not surprised, just before the season opened, to read lengthy daily reports about popular idols practising for the approaching contests. Great interest attached to a particular pitcher, who, two seasons before, had been the terror of batsmen, but in the last season had unaccountably "faded away." Half-columns described his practice, and told exactly how his biceps and triceps and other muscular accoutrements were working. The nation's excitement grew daily: then, in the first match, came the disastrous anti-climax. He was banged for five runs—and "Ichabod" was written over his baseball record. A whole nation sighed its regrets.

American pronunciation seems odd to the English ear; but one soon ceases to take particular notice of it. "Boston" is almost always "Borston."

The “o” is often pronounced more like “ar”: as for instance “starp” or “staap,” where we say “stop.” “New” and “due” become “noo” and “doo”: while “schedule” is always “skedule.” These are, after all, only trivialities: and for aught I know “skedule” may be technically more correct than the other method. Their high-class speakers usually pronounce very much as our best speakers do. Our pronunciation in turn often puzzles the American, especially in family names—and no wonder.

The American’s thirst for information is apparently insatiable: and his appetite for speeches cannot, in New York, be quenched short of 1 a.m. The Toastmaster (our “chairman” or “president”) is responsible for the function, and is very grateful to any speaker who adds to its success. I found the audiences very generous in their appreciation of any fairly good speaker. Few tedious speakers are put up—at any rate twice! The quality and humour of the speaking are on the average fine.

At some of their important society banquets the ceremonial customs are very interesting, and the toastmasters’ costumes quaint. Sometimes one or two of their recognized humorous speakers are put up last, no doubt in order to send the belated guests away in a happy frame of mind. Very cleverly they accomplish this charitable purpose. These humorists are permitted the widest range of sub-

jects; the only expectation is that they shall be epigrammatic and funny. This they succeed in doing by characteristic methods, and no doubt much thought and care are put into the preparation.

Our terrible anxieties and bereavements during the first three years of the war made us increasingly wonder when the United States would enter the bloodstained arena. Most of us were unaware of the full measure of their internal difficulties, as, for instance, their large German population: we did not know the strength of the German and Irish propaganda—nor the full tale of the official German lies and promises. We did not sufficiently appreciate the strength of the Washington tradition in keeping the nation clear of European entanglements. On this tradition they had built for one hundred and twenty-five years, until it had become warp and woof of the fabric of the national mind. Even when they did come in, it was thought in the Eastern States that the West might hesitate a little—or at any rate enter in a Laodicean spirit. Actually, the Middle West and West came in if anything more whole-heartedly than the East, both as regards enlistments and loan subscriptions. This was not because they more easily shed the old traditions, but because President Wilson's appeal to war was based upon broad moral grounds which they accepted fully, enthusiastically, and immediately.

The actual national fighting contribution was (compared with the British or French or Italian) no very great matter, as their own intellectuals freely admit. They entered towards the end of the third year of the war: and their numbers, with the promise of ample additions, gave edge to Marshal Foch's strategy. Such actual fighting as they shared at a critical time was done with success and fine courage, if with unavoidable inexperience. Their men largely lacked equipment of their own: the Allies assisted them with big guns, shells, aeroplanes, and transport. There were mistakes in their home work (as with us), notwithstanding enormous expenditures: for instance, their output of new shipping during the war was disappointing. They had been unprepared (as we were): and the administration of their war work not unnaturally developed delays and errors. After all, these are features unlikely in any case to have been wholly avoided under the peculiar circumstances: and to-day it would be both ungenerous and futile to dwell on them.

The great thing—the thing which must have struck any reasonably observant visitor—was the almost unthinkably stupendous scale of the war effort they were preparing, in case of need. Let me briefly recite some of the points upon which we may preferably dwell:—

1. The bold adoption of conscription soon after they came into the war: and the prompt and thorough internment of Germans deemed dangerous.
2. Over two million men sent across to France in eighteen months, with another three millions in training camps at home. Behind these the muster-rolls covered still another twenty millions, aged 18 to 45, from whom to select additional drafts if needed.
3. Some 370 war vessels in European waters, with about 80,000 men: inter-working admirably with the British navy under unified control. At home another 320,000 men in training.
4. Huge organizations for shipbuilding, munitions, aeroplanes, guns, foods, finance, etc.: and a new gas of a quality about which rumour only fitfully whispered—so terrible were its alleged lethal powers.
5. To prevent stoppages of work during the period of their participation in the war, the Government raised wages, and commandeered materials, in every direction. The aftermath of all this has yet to be faced.
6. The food administration involved huge organization, and included control of all imports and exports of food stuffs. The broad idea was to save at home so as to export more to the Allies.

No laws were passed, but the people were asked voluntarily to restrict their consumption of white bread and sugar. They submitted to these self-denying ordinances with admirable loyalty and temper, as I personally observed both in clubs and hotels.

7. The "American Protective League" embraced about 350,000 volunteers all over the States, with a small central paid staff. The service included leading men in all the professions and avocations—anyone, in fact, whose loyalty and discretion were beyond question. They watched for enemy propaganda or machinations, and did their secret work most capably. After the Armistice several good friends "owned up" that they had been members; but during the war they did not speak of their work.
8. Americans are a peace-loving people: and many of them regard war as both stupid and sinful. They are not imbued with the British idea that war provides a field of honourable endeavour: or with the family tradition which directs so many sons to the Navy and Army.
9. The United States had no territorial ambitions by way of inducement to come into the war. Germans in centres like Chicago and Milwaukee —where there are large numbers of them—were, before April, 1917, clamorously anti-British. They

were suppressed with drastic completeness; after that date they did not openly "bat an eyelid." The educated American seemed to me much more righteously indignant with the Germans than were the British. The American was especially angry over the crimes and attempted crimes of Germans in the States after April, 1917. Possibly the British were really just as angry, but with typical reserve they did not show it.

I heard a well-known American clergyman tell the "skunk" yarn at a big dinner, by way of illustrating his appreciation of the German. The skunk is a beast upon whom nature has bestowed a peculiarly offensive odour. At a Canadian internment camp for Germans an American and a Canadian soldier saw a skunk go into a shed not far away. The American bet the Canadian a dollar he could not stay in the shed ten minutes. The wager was accepted, but lost; the Canadian emerged after six minutes, very red in the face. Then the Canadian challenged the American to try, and the latter also failed, after a gallant eight minutes' effort. A German lounging by asked to have a try, and, after one minute, the skunk came out!

Another war yarn. At several banquets I saw young Whittlesea—Major, I think, was his rank, but he was far better known by the sulphurous title of "Go-to-Hell Whittlesea." He had held a cer-

tain point on the battlefield in France with a comparatively small body of men, and had been isolated for a day or two. The Germans sent across a message to the effect that the American defence had done all that brave men could be expected to do; that their position was hopeless; and they had better surrender. Whittlesea's official reply was terse, uncompromising, and final: he said, "Go to Hell!" Someone at home related the story, with great pride, to Whittlesea's aunt; but she, thinking for the moment that the luridness of the reply was in question, rushed at once to the defence. "When he said that," she explained, "he was just giving them advice."

We may well yield a fair measure of appreciation to the American effort: for on their side, amongst their men of weight and responsibility, especially in the east, one heard nothing but generous appreciation of the great stubborn, protracted British effort. I have already mentioned that we possibly need sound propagandist work in several of the western States, to tell some of their people the true story of what Britain has done in connection with finance, munitions, shipping, fighting by sea and land. In the eastern States that is no longer necessary—they know.

Particularly they appreciate the grim, silent and wonderfully efficient work of the British navy.

The friendly feeling dates back to 1898 and to Manila Bay. There, Admiral Dewey was about to attack the Spanish squadron, and the German Admiral (Von Diederichs) was inclined to interfere. A small British squadron was also there, under Captain Chichester. The German sent a message across to Chichester, to ask the latter what he purposed doing if there was trouble between the United States and the German vessels. By way of answer Chichester manoeuvred his vessels between the other two squadrons, and then replied "That is a matter only known to Admiral Dewey and myself."

That grand old man of the United States navy, Admiral Sims, has done sound work by speaking most eulogistically of the British navy—especially of the way in which the two navies co-operated during the great war. He freely expressed the gratitude of his nation for the transporting and convoying of American soldiers to France—a work most capably done, and in the main, by the British navy.

At the annual dinner of one of the many historic New York Societies I heard the Chairman pay a fine compliment to the British navy. He said, by way of contrast, that we all took off our hats to Cervera in 1898 for leading his doomed squadron out of Santiago, with flags flying and guns roaring.

But what attitude, he asked, was appropriate for the surrender of the German navy? No guns roaring—sailing in ignominious security between two lines of battleships, mostly British, to the humiliating safety of Scapa Flow—"not battle scarred, but battle scared." That was the realization of "Der Tag," which the German navy had been boasting for twenty years!

The United States navy worked with ours in much closer association and unified control than could possibly have been effected with the two armies. On both sides there are soldier "growlers," who return to their own country to exaggerate petty differences and to spread needless ill-feeling. It is to be hoped their utterances will carry very little weight. No great bodies of men of different nationalities ever mingled in compulsory association without quarrels here and there—quarrels arising out of careless words, misunderstandings, boyish excess of spirits, assertion of nationality, and the like. That is essentially nothing: the point is—never to exaggerate it into something.

There is no want of appreciation of the "Tommy" amongst those whose opinions really count in the States. Quite the reverse. And if they have a specially warm corner for any particular soldier, it is for the "Anzac." This, so far as I am personally concerned, is no mere fleet-

ing general impression. My wife and I saw several letters from American lads at the front to their mothers, in which the former wrote most generously and eulogistically of the Australians. There must have been many thousands of such letters which we did not see.

At a meeting dedicated to appreciation of the British war work a speaker drew thunderous applause by a reference to the contribution by British women—especially in the manufacture of munitions. He mentioned how it was proposed to introduce a certain safety device for the women, but, because this would have involved a drop in production of about 25 per cent., the women of England refused to adopt it.

When the 27th Division (U.S.A.) returned to New York, under Major-General O'Ryan, and paraded up Fifth Avenue, their reception by the populace was overwhelming in its enthusiasm and affection. First came a large floral wreath, to the memory of the gallant dead: then all the wounded who were well enough to ride in cars: and at the head of the marching column—in the place of honour—a small unit of some twenty-four Australian soldiers. The reception of that tiny Australian spearhead was extraordinarily warm and enthusiastic. He would have been a curiously unfeeling Australian who could have witnessed and

heard that demonstration without a deep regard for the generous people who so finely tendered it.

Many leading Americans and Britishers are to-day ardently looking to an early future when these two great nations will no longer misunderstand one another, even in the immaterial trifles of manner and deportment. There are, however, several agencies constantly at work to thwart that better understanding. I have already mentioned the Irish propaganda, and there are others. The German is to-day comparatively silent in the States; but it would be dangerous to assume that he is inactive. There is apparently something in the average modern German's soul-substance which makes him an instinctive mischief-maker; and it is safer to take it for granted that in the States he will do all the subterranean work he can to embitter international relations.

The American school-books have not yet been fully corrected. I was credibly informed that nearly a third of these still teach the history of 1776 in the grotesquely twisted manner of the old days. Strong effort should be made to complete the work of revision. Enough mischief has already been done by the bitterly misleading teaching of history. The American manhood of to-day naturally finds it difficult entirely to discard the evil effects of that teaching. Finally, there are the

Hearst papers—a string of them from New York to San Francisco—always ingeniously and strongly anti-British. We need capable, constant propaganda in reply, so that nowhere in the States shall the anti-British case go by default. The typical Englishman hesitates to undertake this work, which appears to him to savour of national advertising or boasting. But it is too serious to justify hesitation on such grounds; and, after all, boasting is not really involved. It is rather a matter of authoritatively correcting miststatements on the one hand, and on the other of frankly and temperately supplying correct information about our nation and her share in the war. Americans are always ready to listen appreciatively and generously.

To bring about that better understanding it is only needful to increase our mutual knowledge.* To that end there should be interchanges of teachers and students (something of that kind is in progress), and visits both ways of Chambers of Com-

*A society has just been founded, called the "English-speaking Union." It has branches on both sides of the Atlantic—and no doubt will have them, later on, throughout the Empire. The President of the Society in America is Hon. William Taft: with strong names on the vice-presidents' list, representing all sections of the community. The British President is the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, and the vice-presidents include Sir Robt. Borden (Canada), Viscount Bryce, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, Earl Curzon, Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, and Earl Reading.

merce representatives, journalists, workmen, of military, naval, and political leaders. Many causes of irritation are certain to arise, especially in the business world; but with fuller knowledge a finer sympathy will be established, and such rivalries, unavoidable under all the circumstances, will be freed of bitterness. "To understand all," as the French express it, "is to forgive all."

The people of the United States derive from the same racial stock as ourselves: they speak the same language; their theories of personal liberty trace back to Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, and other old British statutes: they appeal to the same body of common law: they enjoy the same literature: and their ideas of games, teamplay, and sportsmanship, are much the same as ours. For over one hundred years there has been peace between the two nations: and differences, of which there have been many, have been amicably settled by arbitration or discussion. It is surely a very significant circumstance that on the long frontier between the United States and Canada there are no forts, no guns, no regiments: the line is kept by mutual confidence, and that suffices. The nations are too alike, too much akin even to contemplate the possibility of battle along that frontier. To-day the American on the Fourth of July is thinking a little less of the old historic idea

of "Independence," and rather more of the modern conception of "interdependence."

As one considers the so-called disaster (to Britain) of 1776, it becomes possible to read that event in a newer and finer light. On the American side the struggle for independence fused the thirteen States into a nation as nothing else could have done, and gave that nation's genius an impetus for expansion on lines peculiarly its own. On the other hand, the events of 1776 taught British statesmanship a better method with the colonies: and the wonderful response of the Dominions and Dependencies in 1914 stands as an eternal testimony to that more understanding method.

No one would be so ridiculous as to suggest anything in the nature of organic union between the two nations; nor is there needed any rigid alliance resembling the offensive and defensive European alliances of a day which, we hope, has passed away. It only requires fuller understanding and sympathy: the eradication of ignorant and ungenerous criticism on both sides: the better recognition of racial kinship.

Both nations are geographically outside war-stricken Europe. Both are capable, in a detached and observant way, of economically assisting Europe in the hour of its terrible need. If these two great nations hold themselves apart, and permit

pettiness to separate them, it will amount to a crime in the face of high Heaven. On the contrary, they have it in their hands, by frank and friendly inter-working, to assist Europe to rebuild its shattered prosperity. In their hands largely lies the safety of the world.

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